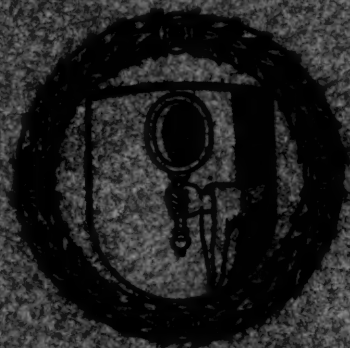


OCT 7 1930

SPECULUM

JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES



OCTOBER, 1930

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

The purpose of the Mediaeval Academy of America is to conduct, encourage, promote, and support research, publication, and instruction in mediaeval records, literature, languages, art, archaeology, history, philosophy, science, life, and all other aspects of mediaeval civilization.

OFFICERS

President

DANA CARLETON MUNRO
Princeton University

First Vice-President

CHARLES RUFUS MORRY
Princeton University

Third Vice-President

ARTHUR CHARLES LEWIS BROWN
Northwestern University

Clerk

BALDEW ADAMS GRAY
Boston, Mass.

Second Vice-President

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON
University of Chicago

Treasurer

JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN
Providence, R. I.

Executive Secretary

JOHN MARSHALL
Cambridge, Mass.

Council

EDWARD COOKE ARMSTRONG
Princeton University

GEORGE BALDWIN COSTMAN
University of North Carolina

LANE COOPER
Cornell University

NORMAN SCOTT BRIEN GRAY
Harvard University

CHARLES HOMER HARRISS
Harvard University

THOMAS ASPENHORN JENKINS
University of Chicago

HENRY GODDARD LEACH
New York City

MARRIET BLEDEN OGLE
Ohio State University

EDWARD KERRAND RAND
Harvard University

JAMES HUGH RYAN
Catholic University of America

JAMES FIELD WILKARD
University of Colorado

KARL YOUNG
Yale University

SPECULUM is sent free to all members of the Academy. Any person desiring to become a member is requested to communicate with the Executive Secretary. Subscription to *SPECULUM* is restricted to libraries and other institutions not eligible for membership.

SPECULUM

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Volume V, Number 4

October, 1930

Published Quarterly by

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief

JEREMIAH DENIS MATHIAS FORD

Managing Editor

FRANCIS PEABODY MAGOUN, JR

Assistant Managing Editor

CHARLES HOLT TAYLOR

RULDOLPH ALTROCCHI

University of California

CHARLES RUFUS MOREY

Princeton University

DANA CARLETON MUNRO

Princeton University

Assistant Managing Editor

SAMUEL HAZZARD CROSS

Publishing Editor

JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN

JAMES HUGH RYAN

Catholic University of America

JOHN STRONG PERRY TATLOCK

University of California

A. A. VASILIEV

University of Wisconsin

ADVISORY BOARD

PHILIP SCHUYLER ALLEN

University of Chicago

ALBERT CROLL BAUGH

University of Pennsylvania

CHARLES HENRY BEESON

University of Chicago

ARTHUR CHARLES LEWIS BROWN

Northwestern University

CORNELIA CATLIN COULTER

Mount Holyoke College

ETIENNE GILSON

Universities of Paris and Toronto

GEORGE LIVINGSTONE HAMILTON

Cornell University

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS

Harvard University

WILLIAM EDWARD LUNT

Haverford College

RICHARD McKEON

Columbia University

CHARLES D. MAGINNIS

Boston, Massachusetts

KEMP MALONE

Johns Hopkins University

GEORGE LA PIANA

Harvard University

WILLIAM ALBERT NITZE

University of Chicago

ARTHUR KINGSLEY PORTER

Harvard University

EDWARD KENNARD RAND

Harvard University

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

University of Chicago

LYNN THORNDIKE

Columbia University

BUSINESS BOARD

AMOS PHILIP McMAHON

New York University

JOHN MARSHALL

Cambridge, Mass.

GEORGE ARTHUR PLIMPTON

New York City

CONTENTS

The Great European Famine of 1315, 1316, and 1317	H. S. Lucas 343
Many-sided Career of Master Elias of Dereham	J. C. Russell 378
Sources for the Biography of St Francis of Assisi	E. G. Salter 388
Orleanese Formularies in a Manuscript at Tarragona	C. H. Haskins 411
Some Mediaeval Spanish Terms of Writing and Illumination	J. H. Nunemaker 420
The Welsh Texts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's <i>Historia</i>	J. J. Parry 424
Ein unveröffentlichtes lateinisches Liebeslied.	H. Spanke 431

REVIEWS 434

M. Armour, *Gudrun* (S. H. Cross); A. V. Billen, *Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch* (A. H. Birch); J. M. Bissen, *L'Exemplarisme Divin selon Saint Bonaventura* (S. Erbacher); O. E. Bodington, *Romance Churches of France* (K. J. Conant); *Calendar of the Fine Rolls*, vol. XI, *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, vol. II, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, vol. VI (J. F. Willard); H. G. Enelow, *Menorat ha-Maor of Israel ibn al-Nakawa* (R. H. Pfeiffer); *An Exultet Roll of Monte Cassino* (M. Avery); C. Foligno, *Latin Thought during the Middle Ages* (Brother Giles, C. F. X.); E. Lo Gatto, *Storia della Letteratura Russa I* (S. H. Cross); P. K. Hitti, *Origins of the Druze People and Religion* (W. Thomson); P. K. Hitti, *Memoirs of Usamah ibn Munqidh* (W. Thomson); H. C. Hoskier, *Bernard of Morval's De Contemptu Mundi* (S. H. Cross); P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. II (J. S. Beddie); H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War 1326-1347* (A. J. Barnouw); A. Millares Carlo, *Paleografía Española* (C. U. Clark); N. Neilson, *The Cartulary and Terrier of the Priory of Bilsington* (N. S. B. Gras); A. K. Porter, *Beyond Architecture* (K. J. Conant); *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* (J. H. Ryan); K. Streckel, *Satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, M. Manitius, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta* (E. K. Rand); E. Vinaver, *Mallory* (J. B. Munn).

Announcement of Books Received	462
--	-----

The Editors of *SPECULUM* should be addressed in care of the Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts, (cable address, 'Speculum, Cambridgemass.'). The Editors cannot be responsible for manuscripts sent to any other address. The attention of contributors is called to the 'Notes for Contributors' printed each year at the end of the January issue.

S P E C U L U M

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THE GREAT EUROPEAN FAMINE OF 1315, 1316, AND 1317

By HENRY S. LUCAS

FAMINE and pestilence swept over Europe so often during the Middle Ages and exacted so frightful a toll of human life that the phenomenon has come to be regarded as one of the most impressive features of the period. Of these catastrophes, the one in 1315, 1316, and 1317 which smote all lands from the Pyrenees to the plains of Russia and from Scotland to Italy is perhaps the most interesting simply because more references to it can be found than to any other mediaeval famine. It received but little extended treatment at the hand of Fritz Curschmann in his study¹ of famines of the Middle Ages. While mentioning some of the phenomena attending this calamity in the lands of the Empire, he did not make a careful survey of all that happened in other parts of Europe, nor did he seek to relate the data which he discovered to social, political, economic, and geographical factors, which would have enabled him to present a more vivid picture of this terrible misfortune.

Other writers have indeed referred to the unusual pestilence and mortality of these years without, however, attempting a thorough study of all the sources. For England the famine and the pestilence which followed hard upon it have been described by that admired medical authority, Professor C. Creighton; his account rests mainly on the vivacious and exceedingly valuable story by the monk Trokelowe, but does not endeavor to link these phenomena with similar

¹ F. Curschmann, 'Hungersnöte im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 8. bis 13. Jahrhunderts,' *Leipziger Studien aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte*, VI (1900), 53-54, 61-62.

events on the continent.¹ A number of other historians, including Thorold Rogers,² Sir James Ramsay,³ T. F. Tout,⁴ Kenneth Vickers,⁵ N. S. B. Gras,⁶ and J. Conway Davies,⁷ have referred briefly to the severe crisis. Léopold Delisle alluded to it in his catalogue of famines in mediaeval France,⁸ while Paul Lehugeur discussed it at some length.⁹ I. L. A. Diegerick published some statistical data on the pestilence which accompanied the famine at Ypres.¹⁰ Professor Pirenne also discussed this phase in a few sentences.¹¹ Its appearance in Brussels has been briefly described by Dr L. Reypens.¹² A. Schultz drew up a long list of famines in Germany,¹³ and A. Schaubé referred to it as exercising much influence in stimulating the volume of sea-borne commerce between Genoa and Venice and the ports of the Low Countries.¹⁴ The absence of any formal treatment has led me to attempt to put together every bit of discoverable evidence in such manner as to give a more living picture of this most extraordinary catastrophe.

¹ C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain, A. D. 664-1866*, I (Cambridge, 1891), 47-49.

² J. E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, I (Oxford, 1866), 197-199.

³ J. H. Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster, or the Three Reigns of Edward II, Edward III, and Richard II, 1307-1399*, I (Oxford, 1913), 76, 82-83.

⁴ T. F. Tout, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III, 1216-1377* (New York, 1905), pp. 266-267.

⁵ K. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, 1926), pp. 111-112.

⁶ N. S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market* (*Harvard Economic Studies*, Vol. XIII, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), pp. 60-61.

⁷ J. Conway Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II, Its Character and Policy. A Study in Administrative History* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 408-409.

⁸ L. Delisle, *Études sur la Condition de la Classe Agricole et l'État de l'Agriculture en Normandie au Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1903), p. 639.

⁹ P. Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long, Roi de France, 1316-1322*, I (Paris, 1897), 412-414.

¹⁰ I. L. A. Diegerick, 'Les Désolations, Ruines, et Calamités, Arrivées à la Ville d'Ypres, Annexes. A. La Peste à Ypres (1316 et 1317),' *Annales de la Société Historique, Archéologique, et Littéraire de la Ville d'Ypres et de l'Ancienne West-Flandre*, I (1861), 310-326.

¹¹ H. Pirenne, 'Les Dénombrements de la Population d'Ypres au XV^e Siècle (1412-1506). Contribution à la Statistique Sociale du Moyen-Âge,' *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I (1903), 3.

¹² L. Reypens, S. J., *Ruusbroec* (Brussel en Amsterdam, 1926), pp. 25-26.

¹³ A. Schultz, *Deutsches Leben im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert*, II (Wien, 1892), 639-651.

¹⁴ A. Schaubé, 'Die Anfänge der Venezianischen Galeerenfahrten nach der Nordsee,' *Historische Zeitschrift*, CI (1908), 46.

Mediaeval Society was essentially agrarian, being based chiefly upon a manorial economy which has been fittingly characterized as a régime of subsistence agriculture.¹ Although the revival of commerce and industry and the consequent growth of towns in the eleventh and twelfth centuries inaugurated one of the most remarkable revolutions in social, economic, political, and cultural life in the whole history of the occident, Europe still remained dependent for its sustenance upon what its husbandmen could wrest from the soil. By the opening of the fourteenth century there had indeed come into being a surprising volume of traffic in articles of food; but commerce had not yet reached that point of development whereby vast quantities of life's daily necessities could be imported into northern Europe from Africa or even from southern Italy. Furthermore, the population tended to develop in numbers beyond the maximum ability of the soil to sustain it. Throughout the Middle Ages there was a pauper class on the manors and a proletariat in the towns which even under the most favorable conditions of agriculture and industry often found it very difficult to keep body and soul together.² The vast number of urban centers that sprang up during the past three centuries had not yet learned to store quantities of foodstuffs against a possible famine, which made them at all times peculiarly dependent upon the rural communities, and in days of want liable to incur serious disaster. It was therefore inevitable that meteorological conditions should play a great rôle; when a series of very bad years occurred in which harvests failed, there was certain to be widespread calamity. Then would come hunger, followed by pestilence and death. The chronicles repeatedly speak of the dread spectres of *Caristia*, *Fames*, *Pestilentia*, and *Mortalitas*.

It appears that in England for at least several years before 1315 the harvests were not very good and there was a general rise in the price of corn and other victuals.³ There was much rain in 1314; and

¹ See H. Pirenne, 'The Stages in the Social History of Capitalism,' *American Historical Review*, XIX (1913-1914), 494-515; *Les Anciennes Démocraties des Pays-Bas* (Paris, 1922), pp. 1-156; and also his *Les Villes du Moyen-Âge. Essai d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* (Bruxelles, 1927).

² G. G. Coulton, *The Medieval Village* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 115, 311.

³ See J. H. Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster, or the Three Reigns of Edward II, Edward III,*

it was only with great difficulty that corn could be properly garnered.¹ The mounting prices led the clergy and barons of the realm to request the king in Parliament held at Westminster after the octave of St Hilary (January 21) to draw up a schedule of prices for all domestic animals and fowl, to which the king assented on March 14. The sheriffs were instructed to proclaim the maximum prices and see to it that the schedule should be duly observed.²

It is possible that a similar condition obtained on the continent, but no definite information is to be found. In any case, the rain of the summer of 1314 was as nothing compared with the torrential floods which came in the summer of 1315. The downpour began about Pentecost (May 11) and continued almost unceasingly throughout the summer and autumn.³ So unusual was the quantity of water that the author of the chronicle of Malmesbury thought that the prophecies in the fifth chapter of Isaias were being fulfilled.⁴ Floods were common; for example, the royal manor of Milton near Kingston-upon-Hull was covered with water, and the king when at Lambeth on August 28 and again on the 30th issued commissions to inquire into the extent of the damage inflicted upon the crops and determine who was responsible for the disaster.⁵ Fish stews at Fosse in Yorkshire were seriously impaired.⁶ Dykes were washed away and lowlands in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire were flooded.⁷ There also was much rain in Ireland.⁸

and Richard II, 1307-1399, I, 76; J. E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, I, 196-197; and the graph in N. S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market*, p. 60.

¹ *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, Vol. II, *Rolls series*, London, 1883), p. 214.

² *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlamento Tempore Edwardi*, I, 295.

³ *Annales Paulini* (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, Vol. I, *Rolls Series*, London, 1882), p. 278; *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II (*Rolls Series*, London, 1867), 332; *Annals of Loch Cé*, I (*Rolls Series*, London, 1871), 579; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henri III jusqu'à l'an 17 Édouard III* (ed. by G. J. Aungier, *Camden Society*, London, 1844), p. 38.

⁴ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214.

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1317*, pp. 412-417.

⁶ *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1318*, pp. 262-263.

A similar condition prevailed on the continent. In France, according to the continuator of Guillaume de Nangis' chronicle, the rain began to fall in the middle of April, about three weeks before it began in England.¹ Little information about the weather in Germany can be found; but it is certain that there too the rainfall was especially severe. When in September Lewis the Bavarian took a position south of Augsburg facing Frederick the Fair of Austria whose troops had bivouacked on the banks of a stream, there was so great a deluge that Frederick's horses stood in the water up to their saddle girths.² At Grimma, southeast of Leipzig, the river Mulde turned into a raging torrent so that the church of the Austin Canons was swept away and many men lost their lives.³ If there are not many statements about the weather in Germany⁴ and none in adjacent Slavic lands,⁵ we may nevertheless be certain that the conditions existing in France and England also obtained there, for the consequences—famine, pestilence, and death, of which there is abundant and eloquent testimony, as will be shown below—were exceptionally severe in those parts.

Especially plentiful is the information given by the contemporary

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1317*, pp. 429-430.

² *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (ed. by D. Murphy, *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Dublin, 1896), p. 275; *Annals of Loch Cé*, I, 579.

³ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I (*Société de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1843), 431; *Fragment d'une Chronique Anonyme Finissant en MCCCXXVIII* (Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. XXI, Paris, 1855), p. 151; *Prima Vita Joannis XXII Auctore Joanne Canonico Sancti Victoris Parisiensis* (E. Baluze, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, ed. by G. Mollat, Vol. I, Paris, 1914), pp. 112-113.

⁴ *Monachi Furstensfeldensis Chronicon de Gestis Principum* (*Fontes Rerum Germanicarum*, Vol. I, Stuttgart, 1843), p. 52. According to Florenz von Wevelinkhoven, *Chronik der Bischöfe von Münster* (*Die Geschichtsquellen des Bistums Münster*, Vol. I, *Die Münsterschen Chroniken des Mittelalters*, Münster, 1851), p. 48, states that the rains began on St James' Day (July 25) and lasted until All Saints'. See also, *ibid.*, p. 130.

⁵ *Chronica Sancti Petri Erfordensis Moderna* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XXX), p. 446: ". . . factum est diluuium in Grimmis, ubi multi homines perierunt, sed et ecclesia Augustinensis inibi per inundacionem aquarum est abducta."

⁶ See, however, Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des Histors*, VI (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1880), 218-219.

⁷ *The Chronicle of Norgorod, 1016-1471* (tr. from the Russian by R. Michell and N. Forbes, *Camden Society*, 3d Ser., Vol. XXV, 1914), pp. 119-121, *sub* 1315, 1316, 1317, and 1318, says nothing about the rainfall or the famine in those parts.

writers in the Low Countries where the rainfall appears to have been greater than anywhere else. Boendale, the poet chronicler of Antwerp, states that severely inclement weather began about the first of May.¹ Molanus, professor of theology at Louvain in the next century, drawing upon sources not contained in the chronicles of Boendale and Van Velthem makes a similar statement and adds that there were particularly severe electrical storms.² These facts are further substantiated by Lodewijk van Velthem,³ the anonymous *Chronicon Comitum Flandrensiū*,⁴ and the later compilation of Jean d'Outremeuse.⁵

The attempt of the French king to invade Flanders in the summer of 1315 gives eloquent evidence of the enormous volume of rain. Count Robert of Flanders (1305-1322) had been very successful in evading the responsibilities incurred by the Treaty of Athis-sur-Orge, made in 1305 between his father, Count Guy, and Philip IV of France. Finally, in 1314, the king determined to put an end to the count's dilatory tactics, and planned an invasion in conjunction with Count William of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, who had married Jeanne, daughter of Charles of Valois, and who therefore was his nephew by marriage. Zeeland, situated at the northeast of Flanders, would cut off the Flemings from all access to the North Sea by way of the Honte, the west arm of the Schelde and at present its main channel. To the southwest the county of Hainault would cut them off from contact with neutral lands, while the French king was to invade Flanders from the south. The Flemings would therefore be completely isolated from their landward neighbors save the duchy of Brabant to the east. Count William, apparently on September 6,

¹ Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1839), 442.

² Johannes Molanus, *Historiae Lovaniensium Libri XIV*, II (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1861), 865.

³ Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae* (Amsterdam, 1727), pp. 375-376. The text of this edition is very defective. A new edition is in preparation, *Lodewijk van Velthem's Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiae (1248-1316)*, opnieuw uitgegeven door H. vander Linden en W. de Vreese, Vol. I (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1906). The second volume containing the references to the famine is in press.

⁴ *Chronicon Comitum Flandrensiū* (*Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, Vol. I, *Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1837), p. 179.

⁵ Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Mireur des Histors*, VI, 218-219.

began to invade and, sailing up the Schelde past Antwerp, destroyed and burned villages and farmsteads on the left bank in Flanders.¹ The French king, Louis X,—Philip IV had died on November 29 of the preceding year—had brought together his army, and at the opening of August, the *oriflamme* stood ready at Bondue between Lille and Courtrai to invade the county.²

Torrential rains now prevented all progress. There was an incessant downpour, day and night, in most miraculous fashion such as no mortal then living had ever seen. The low lands of Flanders that stretched out before the invading army were converted into a bog. Stationed on the right bank of the Lys and with the Flemings encamped before them, the enemy could proceed no further. So wet was the ground that the horses sank into it up to their saddle girths. The men stood knee-deep in the mud, and the wagons could be drawn only with the greatest difficulty.³ The poet chronicler Van Velthem, who was then living in Antwerp, heard how seven horses could not draw out of the mud a wagon loaded with a vat of wine.⁴ So bitterly cold was it in this boggy land that the troops were thoroughly benumbed and had little inclination to advance.⁵ The rain poured into the tents and provisioning the host became well-nigh impossible.⁶ Progress was out of the question, and the army was threatened with hunger. On September 13 the king decided to withdraw.⁷ The tents and military stores were set afire, the food and equipment were destroyed, and Louis withdrew southward to Tournai.⁸

¹ S. A. Waller Zeper, *Jan van Henegouwen, Heer van Beaumont. Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden in de Eerste Helft der Veertiende Eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage, 1914), pp. 46–47.

² Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 423; Gerard de Fracheto, *Chronicon* (Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. XXI, Paris, 1855), p. 44.

³ *Istorie et Croniques de Flandre*, I (Collection des Chroniques Belges, Bruxelles, 1879), 305; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, I (Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1891), 226. The *Chronographia* for this period is a Latin translation of the French *Istorie et Croniques de Flandre*.

⁴ Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, p. 387.

⁵ Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales* (Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1905), p. 87: '... quando tempus est pluviale, talis est conditionis, et in hyeme etiam, quod extra domos ibi nullus potest durare'

⁶ *Istorie et Croniques de Flandre*, I, 305; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, I, 226; *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V (ed. by Paulin Paris, 1838), 225.

Great was the deliverance for the sorely pressed Flemings, as Louis had even sought the coöperation of the duke of Brabant and the English king, Edward II. To some it seemed like a miracle; to Willelmus Procurator of Egmond it recalled Hannibal's enforced withdrawal from Rome.¹ The terrific downpour reminded the anonymous author of the *Flores Historiarum* of the description of the flood in the seventh chapter of Genesis.² Van Velthem, however, preferred to believe that the French fled because of some strange fear rather than from the hostility of the elements, of which he gave a very good description.³

These facts reveal that during the summer of 1315 intemperate weather was the rule in most of Europe north of the Alps. The constant rains implied two things, low temperature and cloudy, lowering skies. In France it was uncommonly cold,⁴ and also in Flanders, from which the invading king was forced to retreat.⁵ The dark skies and the abundance of rain had an unfortunate effect upon the production of wine. The chroniclers complain that it was bad in quality and slight in quantity.⁶ The importation of wine from French and German lands nearly ceased at Antwerp according to Van Velthem.⁷ Nor was any brought to Tournai where the people were forced to rely upon such as was produced from the nearby vineyards of St Jean des Chauffours.⁸ The inclemency of the weather, the low temperature,

¹ *Récits d'un Bourgeois de Valenciennes, XIV^e Siècle* (ed. by Kervyn de Lettenhove, Louvain, 1877), p. 135.

² Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, p. 87; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 423; *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 225; Gerard de Fracheto, *Chronicon*, p. 44; Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine* (L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. XIII, 1728), col. 475-476; *Excerpta e Memoriali Historiarum Johannis a Sancto Victore* (Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. XXI, Paris, 1855), p. 662.

³ *Willemi Capellani in Brederode postea Monachi et Procuratoris Egmondensis Chronicon* (ed. by C. Pijnacker Hordijk, *Werken Uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap Gevestigd te Utrecht*, 3d Serie, no. 20, Amsterdam, 1904), p. 89.

⁴ *Flores Historiarum*, III (*Rolls Series*, London, 1890), 171.

⁵ Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, pp. 387-388.

⁶ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation) I, 421-422.

⁷ Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, p. 87.

⁸ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 421-422, 424; *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 222.

⁷ Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, p. 376

⁸ Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, p. 89.

and the dark skies prevented the usual production of salt by evaporation in western France and elsewhere so that a real dearth of this important article was everywhere felt.¹

Particularly disastrous was the result for the grain crop of the summer. The cold weather and torrential rains during June, July, and August prevented the growing grains from coming to full maturity and hardening. Thus the autumn seeding of wheat and rye proved a total failure. The spring rains prevented proper sowing of oats, barley, and spelt, and when the time came for these to ripen they fared no better. So great was the rainfall in England during time of harvest that in many places the hay could not be cured.² The corn that was harvested was not ripe, and the soft grains, dampened by the unceasing rains, had to be dried in vessels before being ground into flour, according to Trokelowe.³ This condition was quite general throughout England,⁴ Ireland,⁵ France,⁶ and undoubtedly Germany⁷ also. During the whole summer Van Velthem from his point of vantage at Antwerp could see the swollen waters covering the low-lying lands along the Flemish and Brabançon banks of the Schelde. He must have heard a great deal about how the lands of Zeeland and Holland, which were still lower than those around Antwerp, stood under water. Everywhere in those parts the spring sow-

¹ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales (Chronica Monasterii S. Albani, Rolls Series, London, 1866)*, pp. 92-94; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 332-333; *Annales Paulini*, p. 279; *Annales Londonienses (Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, Vol. I, Rolls Series, London, 1882)*, p. 238; *Gesta Edwardi di Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi (Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, Vol. II, Rolls Series, London, 1883)*, p. 48; Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, p. 89; *Fragment d'une Chronique Anonyme Finissant en MCCCXXVIII*, p. 151; *Anonymum Sancti Martialis Chronicon ad Annum MCCCXV Continuumatum (Dom Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, Vol. XXI, Paris, 1855)*, p. 806.

² *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214.

³ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 93: 'Sed vix ad dictam diem Nativitatis pro pane coquendo colligi poterant, nisi prius ad desiccandum in clibanos mitterentur.'

⁴ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214; *Annales Londonienses*, p. 236; *Gesta Edwardi di Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi*, p. 48; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 332; *Annales Paulini*, p. 278; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henri III jusqu'à l'an 17 Édouard III*, p. 38; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swinbroke* (ed. by E. M. Thompson, Oxford, 1899), p. 9; Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriæ (Rolls Series, London, 1876)*, p. 248.

⁵ *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 275; *Annals of Loch Cé*, I, 579.

⁶ Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, p. 89; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine (continuation)*, I, 421-422; *Fragment d'une Chronique Finissant en MCCCXXVIII*, p. 151.

⁷ Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des Histors*, VI, 219.

ing was a complete failure.¹ The briefer testimony of Boendale fully substantiates these statements.² Throughout Flanders there were floods.³ Although no specific references to the failure of vegetables can be found, there can be no doubt that these too must have suffered severely.

A good index of the appalling calamity in England is provided by the prices paid for grains during 1315 and the first half of 1316. Trokelowe states that the acuteness of the famine declined somewhat during the autumn months, but it became increasingly severe as Christmas drew near. When spring approached and the old stocks became completely exhausted, prices rose rapidly. In 1315 wheat had sold at twenty shillings per quarter but soon rose to thirty and by the Feast of St John the Baptist (June 24) commanded forty shillings.⁴ This is also the testimony of the *Annals of London*,⁵ and, with slight variations, of the other English chroniclers. Proportionately high prices were naturally demanded for beans, peas, oats, barley, and malt.⁶ Salt, which had sold for thirty shillings per quarter in 1315, rose to forty shillings in the following year.⁷ When it is borne in mind that the average price of wheat in all areas of England in 1313 was about five shillings,⁸ the gravity of the situation is apparent.

Statistics of what happened in France, where the famine was perhaps as severe as in England, are much less satisfactory. There

¹ Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, pp. 375-376.

² Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeeften*, I, 442.

³ *Chronicon Comitum Flandrensium*, p. 179.

⁴ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, pp. 93-94. For obvious reasons no effort has been made to reduce to common terms either the prices paid or the measures employed.

⁵ *Annales Londonienses*, p. 236.

⁶ *Annales Paulini*, p. 279; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 332-333; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swinbroke*, p. 9; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henri III jusqu'à l'an 17 Édouard III*, p. 39; *Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI-MCCCXLVI*, p. 233; *Gesta Edwardi di Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi*, p. 48; Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum (Rolls Series, London, 1889)*, p. 24; *Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia (Annales Monastici, Vol. III, Rolls Series, London, 1866)*, p. 470.

⁷ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, pp. 92, 94; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henri III jusqu'à l'an 17 Édouard III*, p. 39; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 332-333; *Annales Londontenses*, p. 238; *Annales Paulini*, p. 279.

⁸ J. E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, I, 228. See also the graph in N. S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century*, p. 60.

also the dearth and consequent hunger became worse as the spring and summer advanced, and prices rose to unprecedented levels. By Easter of 1316 a *septier* (*sextarium*) of wheat sold for as much as fifty-five and sixty Parisian *solidi*. Oats and barley brought thirty and eighteen *solidi* respectively.¹ Salt likewise became costly; it sold for ten *solidi* a measure (*boissel*) at Paris,² and forty-five a measure (*emina*) at Limoges, where an egg sold for as much as a *denarius*.³ The chroniclers of Germany wrote plaintive statements of the dearth and the resulting famine. At Strassburg in 1316 a quarter of corn cost thirty shillings, and in the neighboring country two pounds and five shillings.⁴ At Lübeck a measure (*schepel*) of rye in 1315 cost ten *solidi* of the coinage of Brandenburg,⁵ and in Bremen in 1316 twenty-four old *groten*.⁶ High prices were asked for rye in southern Germany.⁷ Although these measures and coinages are difficult if not impossible to reduce to a common term, the fact that all the chroniclers emphasize the dearth and mention the prices of these commodities proves the universality and asperity of the crisis.

Some particularly accurate and valuable data about prices in the Low Countries have been preserved in the chronicle of Lodewijk van Velthem. This writer was living in Antwerp, a town which, built on the estuary of the Schelde, was more and more becoming a central point in the trade of western Europe.⁸ The prices paid for grain in that town may therefore be taken to be quite representative of the situation in most of western Europe, its economic hinterland. A measure (*modius*) according to the standard of Louvain cost at All

¹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 426; *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 227; *Annales Dervenses* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XVI), p. 490.

² *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 226.

³ *Anonymum Sancti Martialis Chronicon ad Annum DCCCXV Continuatum*, p. 806.

⁴ *Fritsche Closener's Chronik* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. VIII, 1870), p. 175.

⁵ *Detmar Chronik von 1105-1386* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. XIX, 1884), p. 427.

⁶ *Die Bremische Chronik des Gerhard Rynesberch und des Herbold Schene* (*Geschichtsquellen des Erzstiftes und der Stadt Bremen. Herausgegeben von Johann M. Lappenburg*, Bremen, 1841), p. 86.

⁷ *Annales Windbergenses* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XVII), p. 565.

⁸ H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, II (2d ed., Bruxelles, 1908), 47-54; H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347* (*University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science*, Vol. VIII, Ann Arbor, 1929), pp. 11-12.

Saints' Day five pounds, at St Andrew's (November 30) seven, at Christmas Eve ten, at Easter, 1316, twelve, and at the Feast of St John the Baptist (June 24) sixteen.¹ Thus in the space of only seven months after the first of November, 1315, the price of wheat, which was already very high, rose three hundred and twenty per cent. The chronicler of the abbey of Parc situated near Louvain in a fertile corn-growing region states that a *modius* of rye or salt sold for as much as twenty-four pounds, and that five years later it declined to twenty shillings.² The chronicler of the abbey of Saint Trond south of Louvain declares that rye cost eleven florins per *modius* of the standard of Saint Trond.³ Boendale, who accurately reports conditions in Brabant, states that a quarter of rye at Antwerp cost sixty *solidi* Tournais.⁴ Gilles le Muisit, abbot of Saint Martin's in Tournai, relates that at the close of May, 1316, salt sold for six pounds a measure (*raseria*) and that a similar measure of wheat cost forty *solidi*, oats twenty-seven, and peas forty-five, at which prices they could scarcely be procured.⁵ At Fosses in the county of Namur a measure of spelt in 1315 cost six *solidi*, in 1316 forty *grossi*.⁶ Levold de Northof, a canon of the church of Liège, whose observations are especially valuable for the duchy of Limburg and the parts around Liège, states that a measure of spelt cost four *solidi* and often more.⁷ In the county of Holland⁸ and adjacent inland parts a similar condition prevailed.⁹

From these facts it is evident that there was universal failure of crops in 1315 in most if not all the lands of Europe from the Pyrenees to Slavic regions, from Scotland to Italy. This is the testimony of VanVelthem¹⁰ and of the Florentine Giovanni Villani.¹¹ Everywhere it

¹ Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, pp. 392-393.

² *Annales Parchenses* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XVI), p. 608.

³ *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Trudonis* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. X), p. 416.

⁴ Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I, 442.

⁵ Gilles le Muisit, *Chroniques et Annales*, p. 89.

⁶ *Annales Fossenses* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. IV), p. 34.

⁷ Levold de Northof, *Origines Marcae, sive Chronicon Comitum de Marca et Allena* (*Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, ed. by H. Meibomius, Tomus I, Helmstadii, 1688), p. 398.

⁸ *Willelmi Capellani in Brederode postea Monachi et Procuratoris Egmondensis Chronicon*, pp. 90-91.

⁹ *Annales Tielenses* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XXIV), p. 26: ' . . . tanta fuit caristia, qualis ante non est visa; maldrum enim tritici emebatur pro sex libris, maldrum siliginis pro quinque libris, maldrum ordeï pro tribus libris et sex solidis, et maldrum havene pro duabus libris.'

was the same melancholy story. In England when the famine came over the land the nobles and wealthy folk as well as the religious often ceased such eleemosynary activities as they were usually engaged in and sought to save themselves from the impending catastrophe by reducing their households.¹ Domestic animals and fowls became very scarce; eggs were not to be obtained.² The murrain carried off great numbers of sheep and other cattle.³ Meats thus became extremely scarce. And such grain as had been garnered proved to have but little nourishing power. No matter how much one ate of food prepared from such corn, he could obtain no nourishment.⁴ Trokelowe declares that a large loaf costing four pence was not enough for the daily needs of one man.⁵

Especially severe were the trials of the poor and lowly. They were forced to feed themselves as best they might; they ate dogs, cats, the dung of doves, and even their own children.⁶ Cannibalism certainly was common.⁷ Trokelowe relates how thieves who had been impri-

¹⁰ Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, p. 393.

¹¹ Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, col. 482: 'Nel detto anno 1316 grande pestilencia di mortalità e di fame avvenne nelle parti di Germania, cioè nella Magna sopra verso Tramon-tana, e stesesi in Olanda, Frisia, e in Silanda, e per Brabante, Fiandra, e Analdo infino in Borgogna e parte di Francia, e fu sì pericolosa che più che 'l terzo delle genti morirono, e da l'uno giorno a l'altro quelli, che più pareva sano, era morto.'

¹ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 93: 'Hujusmodi igitur fame praevalente, tam mag-nates quam religiosi curias suas restringebant, solitas eleemosynas subtrahebant, familias suas minuebant.' See also Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, p. 249.

² Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 92.

³ The king's subjects at Morganoc in Wales petitioned for relief from the burdens of the ransom which they were required to pay, 'because they assented to the folly of Llewelen Bren against the peace, because they sold most of their chattels at a loss last year to raise, and because of the great murrain of beasts and the great dearness since in all the country they have nothing now to live on, that he will pardon them a part of that moiety of the ransom which remains and grant them instalment of three years of the remainder.' See *Calendar of Chancery Warrants Preserved in the Record Office*, I (1244-1326), 473-474. See also John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England (Rolls Series)*, London, 1858), p. 185.

⁴ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 93: 'Nec habebat panis robor nutritivum, seu virtu-tem substantialem more solito in se, pro eo quod grana a calore solis aestivi nutrimentum non habebant.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95: 'Quatuor autem denariatus de grosso pane non sufficiebant uni simplicii homini in die.'

⁶ *Annales de Bermundesieia*, p. 470: 'Pauperes enim pueros suos manducabant, canes, murelegos, stercus columbarum. . . .'

⁷ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 95: 'Carnes quidem cummunes, et ad vescendum licitae, strictae erant nimis; sed carnes equinae pretiosae eis fuerant, qui canes pingues fura-

soned, but who were neglected and given no food, ferociously attacked new prisoners and devoured them half alive.¹ He also tells how he saw the emaciated forms of starving men and women in the streets of London; dirty dead bodies were everywhere to be seen in the wards and lanes.² Robert of Brunne's description of the famine in Cadwallader's time, which according to C. Creighton probably is really based upon his own observations at the time of this famine,³ admirably supports Trokelowe's statements. There was no corn, and hunger was universal; one might travel for three days without being able to buy any food. It was the same story in the towns; people tried to relieve the pangs of hunger by eating leaves and roots or an occasional fish caught in the streams.⁴ Even the king found it difficult to get food. When Edward II with his household stopped at St Albans at the Feast of St Laurence (August 10), it was practically impossible to procure bread for his court.⁵ Suffering was especially severe in Ireland. In May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed on the Antrim coast with about six thousand fighting men. In civil dissensions which followed thereupon the country was laid waste, and the disorder vastly increased the misery already acute from the failure of crops.⁶

Conditions in France were everywhere practically the same.⁷ In

bantur, et, ut multi asserabant, tam viri quam mulieres parvulos suos, et etiam alienos, in multis locis comedebant.' See also W. Adams, *Chronicle of Bristol* (Bristol, 1910), p. 95.

¹ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 95: 'Sed, quod horrible est ad futurorum notitiam perducere, incarcerati etiam fures inter eos recenter venientes in momento semivivos devorabant.'

² *Ibid.*, p. 94: 'Attenuatos autem fame perpendimus civitatem introeuntes, cum pauperes et egenos, ipsa fame oppressos, per vicos et itinera squalentes et mortuos jacere conspicimus.'

³ C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain, A. D. 664-1866*, I, 48-49.

⁴ Robert Manning of Brunne, *The Story of England, I* (*Rolls Series*, London, 1887), 569.

⁵ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 92: 'Unde terra tanta penuria premebatur, quod, cum rex apud Sanctum Albanum in festo Sancti Laurentii proximo sequente declinaret, vix poterat panis venalis pro suae specialis familiae sustentatione, inveniri.'

⁶ O. Armstrong, *Edward Bruce's Invasion of Ireland* (London, 1923), pp. 88-89.

⁷ *Anonymum Sancti Martialis Chronicon ad Annum MCCCXX Continuum*, p. 813; *Fragment d'une Chronique Finissant en MCCCXXVIII*, p. 151; *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 222, 226-227; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 421-422, 424, 426, 428; *Annales Dervenses*, p. 490; *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme de 1316 à 1339* (*Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, Vol. XI, 1884), p. 28; *Chronique Rimée Attribuée à Geoffroi de Paris* (Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. XXII, Paris, 1894), pp. 161-162.

1315 the surplus stores of corn and wine in Gascony did somewhat relieve the suffering population of northern France, but in 1316 all such supplies were exhausted.¹ Large numbers of laborers, men and women, died in the streets and open places of Paris.²

Pestilence accompanied the famine. Such medical skill as the age possessed of course proved completely futile in relieving the malady.³ Death often came very suddenly,⁴ and the number of the dead was so great in many places that there were not enough persons sufficiently well to bury them.⁵ Dysentery, high fever, and a fetid infection of the throat were very common.⁶ So repulsive was the effluvia that the bodies had to be buried almost immediately after death.⁷ These conditions were prevalent in England,⁸ Scotland,⁹ Ireland,¹⁰ and also in Germany.¹¹ While no information can be found about

¹ *Prima Vita Joannis XXII Auctore Joanne Canonico Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, pp. 112-113.

² *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 227: 'Et après ce ensuivant, pour ce que la très grant famine ensuivoit si croissant et angoisseaux, plusieurs hommes et femmes povres créatures, travailleurs et laborans de fain, par rues et par places à Paris mouroient.'

³ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 94: 'Nec potuit in hac pestilentia contra praedictos morbos prudentia physicorum, prout antiquitus solebat, aliquod congruum in arte sua reperire remedium.'

⁴ *Annales de Bermundesia*, p. 470: '... et ita crebro moriebantur, ut deesset morituris cura et mortuis sepultura'; *Récits d'un Bourgeois de Valenciennes*, p. 136.

⁵ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 94: 'Tot enim moriuntur egeni, quod vix sufficienti vivi ad sepulturam mortuorum.'

⁶ *Ibid.*: 'Morbus enim dysentericus, ex corruptis cibis conceptus, fere omnes maculavit; quem sequebatur acuta febris, vel pestis gutturosa.'

⁷ *Gesta Edwardi di Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi*, p. 48: 'Nec poterant mortuorum corpora propter foetorum diutius reservari quin ante prandium et post cotidie sunt humata.'

⁸ *Annales Londonienses*, pp. 236, 238; *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214; *Annales Paulini*, pp. 278, 279; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henri jusqu'à l'an 17 Édouard III*, p. 39; Adam de Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 24; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swinbroke*, p. 9; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 332-333; *Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI-MCCCXLVI*, p. 233.

⁹ *Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI-MCCCXLVI*, p. 233; *Liber Pluscardensis*, I (*Historians of Scotland*, E. dinburgh, 1877), 240-241; Johannes de Fordun, *Chronicon Gentis Scotorum*, I (*Historians of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1871), 345, where the statement about the famine in 1310 should no doubt refer to 1315 or 1316.

¹⁰ *Annals of Loch Cé*, I, 579; *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 275; *Annals of Ireland (Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, Vol. II, Rolls Series, London, 1884)*, pp. 349-350, 354.

¹¹ *Chronik des Dietrich Westhoff von 750-1500 (Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, Vol. XX, 1887)*, p. 199; *Fritsche Closener's Chronik*, p. 135. See also Florenz von Wevelinkhoven, *Chronik der Bischöfe von Münster*, pp. 48, 130.

what happened in Scandinavia, it appears that Sweden also was visited by pestilence.¹

The generally emaciated condition of their bodies rendered people peculiarly susceptible to all manner of disease. Van Velthem states that the pestilence began among the poorer folk in Antwerp but soon spread among the better classes.² According to Boendale no class was immune.³ Whether ergotism was very prevalent is difficult to determine because of the vague description of the disease. It was common in the Middle Ages, but apparently was never accurately diagnosed. It also afflicted animals.⁴ St Anthony's fire was very common. It is an unscientific name for erysipelas, a dangerous disease of the skin induced by a micro-organism. Epidemics of this disease were frequent during very cold winters and rainy summers. In an age lamentably ignorant of even the simplest rudiments of sanitary living the disease must have spread widely among the populace housed in damp and noisome places. High fever and hunger undoubtedly greatly lowered the vitality of all. Many people may have died of anthrax. The chroniclers, especially those of England,⁵ speak of the great murrain.⁶ The famishing populace probably contracted it by eating the flesh of animals that died from the disease, or by eating the roots, grass, or herbs infected with the germ. Other infectious maladies were no doubt common. They would explain why death came so suddenly and the bodies began to decompose at once.

¹ *Märkvärdiga Händelser i Sverige ifrån 1220 till 1552 (Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum, Vol. I, Upsala, 1818)*, p. 90: '1316 rägnade blod vid Ringstadholm. Samma ar var pestilentia här i Sverige.' See E. Hildebrand, *Sveriges Historia intill tjugonde Seklet*, II (Stokholm, [1906]), 174.

² Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, p. 394.

³ Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I, 443.

⁴ See M. R. Trumbower, 'Ergotism among Cattle in Kansas,' *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the Year 1884* (Washington, 1885), pp. 212-252; 'Enzootics of Ergotism,' *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1884* (Washington, 1884), pp. 310-320; C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain from A. D. 664 to 1866*, I, 52-64.

⁵ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 92; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 333; *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214; *Gesta Edwardi di Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi*, p. 48; John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, p. 185; William Gregory, *Chronicle of London* (ed. by J. Gairdner, *Camden Society, new Series*, Vol. XVII, 1876), p. 75.

⁶ Lodewijk van Velthem. *Spiegel Historiae*, p. 390; J. Molanus, *Historiae Lovaniensium Libri XIV*, II, 865; *Willelmi Capellani in Brederode postea Monachi et Procuratoris Egmon-*

The public had a presentiment of what was coming. When the rain continued unabated during June, July, and August, and it became certain that food would be scarce, processions became common. In this hour of need the guilds and religious bodies in Paris often went forth barefooted, led by the clergy.¹ The statement by the continuator of the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis is especially interesting: "We saw a large number of both sexes, not only from nearby places but from places as much as five leagues away, barefooted, and many even, excepting the women, in a completely nude condition, with their priests, coming together in procession at the church of the holy martyr, and they devoutly carried bodies of the saints and other relics to be adored." He also states that this was quite common in the dioceses of Chartres and Rouen, and in many other places in France.² The archbishop of Canterbury ordered that all the religious of London should go barefoot in procession on every Friday to the church of the Holy Trinity bearing the Blessed Sacrament and sacred relics.³ Such spectacles must have been very common in every part of Europe where the famine raged.

Because of these conditions there was a great increase in crime. Persons who ordinarily led a decent and respectable life were forced into irregularities of conduct which made them criminals. Robbers and vagabonds appear to have infested the countryside of England, and they were guilty of all manner of violence.⁴ Murder became very

densis Chronicon, p. 91; *Königsaler Geschichts-Quellen (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Scriptores, Abtheilung I, Vol. VIII, 1875)*, p. 379.

¹ *Prima Vita Joannis XXII Auctore Joanne Canonico Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, pp. 112-113.

² Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine (continuation)*, I, 422; *Chronique Rimée attribuée à Geoffroi de Paris*, p. 160:

'En cel temps, les processions,	Roy, duc, et conte, tes estas:
Chanoines et collégions	Et autel firent les prélaz.
Alèrent de toute partie,	Partout aloient Dieu requerre
A grant douleur, à grand hachie	Que Dieu biau temps donnast en terre;
Et trestouz nus piez et en langes,	Mès longuement fu attendu.'
Aus festes et aux diemanches,	

³ *Annales Paulini*, p. 278: 'Qua de causa dominus archiepiscopus ordinavit quod omnes religiosi et viri ecclesiastici civitatis, qualibet die Veneris, processiones facerent nudis pedibus usque ad ecclesiam Sanctae Trinitatis eundo, corpus Domini et alias reliquias secum portantes.'

⁴ Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 93: 'Unde illi a curiis sic amoti, vitam delicatam ducere consueti, fodere nesciebant, mendicare erubescabant, penuria tamen cibi et potus devicti

frequent in Ireland.¹ Robbery with assault was common; in fact all manner of articles that could be used for food were stolen, such as cattle, sheep, horses, hares, rabbits, partridges, pheasants, deer, and corn. Household and personal possessions, hay, timber, stones, lead, in fact all things of value were readily taken. The *Calendars of Patent Rolls* contain numerous commissions of oyer and terminer issued to determine who were the parties guilty of these deeds.² It would be erroneous, however, to suppose that all these commissions issued in 1315 and 1316 were aimed at criminals who were driven to violence by starvation, for King Edward's government was quite lax and inspired scant respect; but it is certain that a large proportion of the crimes complained of were caused by hunger.

There also were robberies on the high seas. On April 4, 1316, Edward ordered his officials to proceed to the ports between Lynn and Falmouth to urge their officials to prepare ships which were to stay in his service as long as possible for 'the repulse of certain malefactors who have committed manslaughter and other enormities on the sea upon the men of this realm and upon men from foreign parts coming to this realm with victuals and other goods.'³ On August 12 the king complained that some of his subjects of Kent, Sussex, and Southampton were committing thefts and homicide on the sea which so terrified merchants and fishermen that they were not coming into the realm with their goods.⁴ In Paris bakers were found guilty of putting the most revolting things in the bread such as the dregs of wine and the dung of hogs. A salutary punishment was imposed: sixteen offenders were placed on wheels in the public places of the town and were forced to hold in their raised hands fragments of the rotten bread. They were thereupon banished from the country.⁵

bona aliena sitiebant, caedibus et rapinis intendentes. Tot autem effecti sunt infideles, quod in pace vivere non permiserunt fideles.'

¹ *Annals of Loch Cé*, I, 579.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1317*, pp. 402, 405, 412-414, 416-424, 426-428, 431, 492-500, 503-504, 506, 579-601. While the commissions are usually dated, the date of the crime is unfortunately never given.

³ *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1318*, p. 332.

⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1317*, p. 585.

Of the famine and dearth in German and adjacent Slavic and Magyar lands the chroniclers have given much scattered information.¹ The universal agreement among them emphasizes the unvarying seriousness of the disaster. Throughout the winter of 1315 and 1316 there was much rain, and the unusually cold weather entailed vast suffering. The Moldau in Bohemia was so frozen from St Andrew's Day (November 30) until March 28 that people freely passed over it as on dry land.² The rains that fell in Austria, Poland, Hungary, and Meissen in the spring and summer of 1316 appear to have been especially disastrous, for they destroyed the hay and ruined much of the seeding.³ There were great rainstorms at Salzburg at the close of June, which to the chronicler seemed like a deluge.⁴ In Saxony the turbid waters of the swollen Elbe carried a large number of villages with human beings and cattle to destruction.⁵ Food failed everywhere, and men and animals perished in great numbers.⁶ It was common to see the almost lifeless forms of famishing men and women stretched on the ground of the streets and open places in the villages and towns of Saxony. At Erfurt a great trench was dug

¹ *Prima Vita Joannis XXII Auctore Joanne Canonico Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, p. 115: 'Cum autem illo anno esset maxime caristia, inventum est quod pistores panis in pane multas immunditias posuerunt, faeces vini, stercora porcorum: que et alia plura famelici homines comedebant; et sic panefici pauperum pecunias emungebant. Cognita ergo veritate, posite sunt rote in campellis Parisius sexdecim super palos, et super eas singuli tales panefici constituti, tenentes manibus elevatis panum frustra taliter corruptorum. Postea sunt de Francia banniti.'

² For a reference to what happened in the Danube valley, see *Annales Windergenses*, p. 565.

³ *Königsaler Geschichts-Quellen*, p. 379: 'In hac hieme a festo beati Andreae apostoli usque ad diem Palmarum, qui videlicet quinto Kalendas Aprilis fuerat, Multavia fluvius in tantum congelatus permanserat, quod in ipsius glaciali superficie sive omni interpolatione cotidie quasi super aridam populus transiens ambulabat.'

⁴ *Ibid.*: 'In Austria, Polonia, Ungaria, et Misna de hoc diluvio omnium hominum quaerimonia nuntiabat infinita pericula esse facta. Haec aquarum inundatio campos et valles cooperuit, fenum et segestes distruxit, secumque plura, quae rapuit, deduxit.'

⁵ *Continuatio Canonice Rubberti Salisburgensis (M. G. H., SS., Vol. IX)*, p. 822: 'Item eodem anno ante festum Johannis baptiste, et in vigilia ejusdem, et in vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli, triplex inundatio tanta aquarum facta fuit, quod quasi particulare diluvium videretur.'

⁶ *Königsaler Geschichts-Quellen*, p. 379: 'In partibus Saxoniae tantum Albea fluvius crevit, quod quadringentas et quinquaginta villas aquae vicinas cum hominibus et pecoribus pariter delevit.'

⁷ *Ibid.*: 'Bladum, fenum deficit, deficiunt et pascua, ut esurire et interire incipiant homines et iumenta.'

before the town wall into which day by day the bodies of the victims were cast.¹ It appears that memory of this dismal event long survived. In 1341 Benedict XII offered an indulgence of forty days to all those who would participate in the memorial services. According to the bull, eight thousand one hundred people had been buried in the nearby cemetery at Schmidtstädt (Smetestete); but it is not absolutely certain that these are the ones who died in 1316 since the document merely states that they had died in a particularly severe famine.² Archbishop Peter of Mainz told the author of the household chronicle of the kings of Bohemia that in the diocese of Metz five hundred thousand men, women, and children had perished during a period of six months. Of the number of horses, cattle, and sheep that died he would not hazard a guess. More than a thousand sheep died in the barns of the king of Bohemia alone.³ The starving populace ate the flesh of animals that had died of the pest.⁴ In Magdeburg, before whose gates numbers of persons lay, the bakers had to guard their wares with sticks to prevent the famishing from snatching them.⁵ The Cistercian monks at Riddagshausen near Brunswick fed four thousand persons daily from Lent to harvest time.⁶ At Bremen it was the same story.⁷

¹ *Chronica Reinhardbrunnensis* (M. G. H., SS., Vol. XXX), p. 651: 'Anno Domini MCCC-XVI fames valida, que iam per tres annos invaluerat, tam magna facta est, ut multi fame perirent. Nam in strata publica, in civitatibus, in opidis, in villis innumerabiles iacere exanimis videbantur. Unde cives Erfordenses misericordia moti magnam foveam ante civitatem fecerunt, ubi cottidie projecta sunt corpora mortuorum.'

² C. Beyer, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Erfurt*, II (*Historische Commission der Provinz Sachsen*, Halle, 1897), 170.

³ *Königsaalger Geschichts-Quellen*, p. 379: 'Retulit nobis dominus Petrus Maguntinus archiepiscopus, quod infra dimidii anni tempus in civitate solum Metensi quinquies centum millia hominum mortua sunt, nichilominus equos, oves, et boves, et universa pecora campi necuit pestilentia huius anni, oves enim plures quam mille exceptis aliis animalibus praemortuis, quae ad aulam regiam pertinuerunt, in grangiis perierunt.' This figure should be regarded merely as a guess. Others by later writers such as Friedrich Zorn, *Wormser Chronik* (*Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Vol. XLIII, Stuttgart, 1857), p. 137, are of course wholly untrustworthy.

⁴ *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik* (*Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. VII, Leipzig, 1869), p. 185: 'In dem 1316 jare wart grot duer tid, dat vele lude van hunger mosten sterven, und ok stark vele vehes, und van den doden koien reddeden sik vele armer lude, de anders gestorven weren van hungere.'

⁵ *Ibid.*: 'De becker de brot veil hadden in oren husen, de mosten mit stocken dar bi stan und weren vor den armen, boven dat se on dat nicht nemen.'

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 186: 'In disser duren tid spiseden de grawen monnike to Riddershusen bi Bruns-

These conditions also prevailed in the western parts of the Empire where towns were most numerous and urban economy was quite prevalent.¹ At Strassburg the old hospital apparently proved too small and a new one was prepared outside the walls to take care of those afflicted by famine and pestilence.² At Trier and throughout the lands of the See of Trier the price of rye rose to unprecedented levels during the summer of 1315 and the following winter. Pestilence and starvation were of course especially severe in the towns. Bodies of the poor were found in the streets and public places. The authorities ordered them to be buried in huge trenches in the cemeteries at public expense.³ Several trenches were dug outside the walls at Colmar, into two of which were cast respectively two thousand and seventeen hundred bodies of the townfolk. Induced by the universal hunger, many people left their homes and wandered far and wide in search of something to eat. Some of those who had come from the borders of France and from Lorraine to Alsace, which by common repute was very fertile, died at Colmar where a large number were buried in trenches.⁴ Throughout the lower Rhine Valley

wik alle dage mer denn veihundert volkes mit brode van der vasten wente to der erne, dat men dat koren sniden scholde. Do geven sie islikem armen minschen ein sekelen und ein brod und heiten se gan arbeiden und sniden.'

¹ *Die Bremische Chronik des Gerhard Rynesberch und des Herbord Schene*, pp. 86-87. The dean of the church of Bremen charitably distributed corn to the starving poor. He was rebuked for doing this in the face of starvation, but according to the chronicler he was rewarded for his reliance upon the Lord and St Peter, and his stores were miraculously replenished.

² *Annales Sancti Vitoni Viridunensis (M. G. H., SS., Vol. X)*, p. 529.

³ *Fritsche Closener's Chronik*, p. 135: 'Do man zalt 1316 jor, do galt ein vierteil kornes 30 sol. zu Strosburg, und in dem lande 2 lib. oder 2 lib. und 5 sol. Von dem gebresten kam ein grosse sterbote. Von dem sterbende wart der spital us der stad gezogen, der vormols was in Kremergasse gelegen, daz nu heisset 'zu dem alten spital'.'

⁴ *Gesta Trevirorum*, II (ed. by H. Wytttenbach and M. F. Müller, Trier, 1838), 235: 'Etiam pestilentia universalis erat adeo magna, quod multorum pauperum corpora exanima, fame et pestilentia infecta, in stratis publicis inveniebantur, et a pluribus civitatibus magnae generales foveae in cimiterium consecratae parabantur, et pretia statuebantur, ut ipsa cadevera sepulturae traderentur.' See also *Annales Marbacenses (M. G. H., SS., Vol. XVII)*, p. 179.

⁴ Johannes Vitoduranus, *Chronicon a Friderico II Imperatore ad Annum MCCCXLVIIII Procedens (Archiv für Schweizerische Geschichte herausgegeben auf Veranstaltung der allgemeinen geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft der Schweiz, Vol. XI, 1856)*, p. 69: 'Circiter ista tempora propter karistiam que invaluerat in pluribus mundi partibus perierunt nimia pre fame in civitate Alsacie dicta Calmur tot homines, quod in duabus foveis extra muros ad hoc paratis sepulti fuerant XX et XVII centena et in aliis tribus LXXX. XIX centena hominum qui pro

large numbers died,¹ and in Cologne and other places the poor, it was said, were not prosecuted for snatching loaves of bread from the windows of the bakers.²

Along the whole coast of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea famine and pestilence were rife.³ In Livonia and Esthonia in the dioceses of Riga, Ösel, Dorpat, and Reval, starving mothers ate their children.⁴ One chronicler emphasizes the truth of the story of cannibalism and declares that famishing men often died on the graves while digging up bodies for food.⁵ The Teutonic Knights in those parts did what they could to alleviate their suffering dependents by liberally distributing food from their immense granaries.⁶

While the famine and pestilence in France, Germany, and England were more serious than any living person in these lands had yet seen, they appear to have been especially disastrous in the Low Countries.⁷ The county of Flanders was an industrial community,

majori parte de Westerrich et de Lotharingia ut fertur extiterunt. Nam illic fames crudelius inhorruerat et ut eam homines ibidem habitantes effugerent, ad civitatem prenominatam, terre fructibus tunc magis exuberantem, turmatim conflexerunt.' Westerrich apparently is *Westreich*, or France, a characteristically old Lotharingian survival. The passage bears no date, but undoubtedly refers to the trials of 1315 and 1316.

¹ *Annales Agrippinenses* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XVI), p. 737; *Cölnner Jahrbücher des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. XIII, Leipzig, 1876), p. 21.

² *Koelhoff'sche Chronik* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. XIV, Leipzig, 1877), pp. 663-664: 'In den jaeren uns heren 1315 was ein grois duir zit in duitschen ind welschen landen, dat men den armen zolies dat si moichten broit nemen van den fensteren dae men broit verkochte, ind sturven vil lude hungers.' The *Chronik des Dietrich Westhoff von 750-1500* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. XX, Leipzig, 1887), p. 119, repeats practically verbatim the *Koelhoff'sche Chronik*. See also *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XIII (1888), 598, and Florenz von Wevelinkhoven, *Chronik der Bischöfe von Münster*, p. 48.

³ *Detmar Chronik von 1101-1395*, p. 427: 'In deme sulven jare was bi der zee unde in der Marke so dure tiid, dat de schepel roeghe gholt 10 schillinghe Brandenburghes.'

⁴ *Canonici Sambiensis Annales* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XIX), p. 704: 'Anno Domini 1315 tanta fames in Lyvoniam et Esconiam orta est, quod matres filiis vescebantur.'

⁵ *Annales Lubicensis* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XVI), p. 424: 'Et pro certo dicitur, quod quidam in hiis terminis propter famem nimiam devoraverunt proprios suos pueros, et quidam famelici vivi intraverunt sepulchra, in quibusdam locis multitudini fame decedentium facta, ut in hiis morerentur (morirentur?) et darent finem poenis suis.'

⁶ *Ibid.*: 'Fratres vero domus Teutonicorum multos suos homines salvarunt per amministrationem annonae habundantis reservatae in oculis castrorum suorum.'

⁷ See report according to Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, col. 482: 'Nel detto anno 1316 grande pestilentia di mortalità e di fame avvenne nelle parti di Germania cioè nelle Magna

which, under the stimulus of the great renaissance in trade and industry and the subsequent growth of such towns as Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres since the tenth century, had become entirely dependent upon other lands for its daily necessities.¹ The duchy of Brabant with its thriving towns of Antwerp, Brussels, and Louvain was in this respect rapidly following the example of Flanders.² When crops failed in the summer of 1315 it was therefore inevitable that there should be great distress in these centers. Hocsemius, the chronicler and scholasticus of the chapter of Liège, wrote that when the famine began the surplus stocks of grain stored in the barns of the Hesbagne, the fertile uplands north of Liège, were sent to the towns of the coast where the dearth was greater.³

The low lands of Flanders, Brabant, Zeeland, Holland, Friesland, and Guelders would naturally suffer more than most others when great freshets overflowed the dykes and put vast stretches of pasture and arable land under water. Agricultural products in these parts therefore failed completely. Van Velthem relates that in traveling through some parts of Brabant in September of 1315 he saw farm lands submerged and shocks of oats standing rotting in the water.⁴ According to Hocsemius the crops in these sections failed completely because of the floods.⁵

The historian is fortunate in having many accounts by chroniclers of what happened in Brabant. The rain began to fall in May, 1315, and continued for a year. The local harvest was wholly insufficient

sopra verso Tramontana, e stesesi in Olanda, Frisia, e in Silanda, e per Brabante, Fiandra, e Analdo infino in Borgogna e parte di Francia. . . .'

¹ For the corn supply of Flanders see the instructive account by G. Bigwood, 'Gand et la Circulation des Grains en Flandre, du XIV^e au XVIII^e Siècle,' *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IV (1906), 397-460.

² H. Pirenne, 'The Place of the Netherlands in the Economic History of Mediaeval Europe,' *Economic History Review*, January, 1929, pp. 20-40; H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347*, pp. 1-14.

³ Johannes Hocsemius, *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium Adolphi et Engelberti a Marka* (Chapeville, *Qui Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium Scripserunt Auctores*, Vol. II, Leodii, 1613), p. 373: ' . . . et tamen bladis granaria erant plena, sed ad loca maritima, ubi maior erat caristia, portabantur.'

⁴ Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, p. 376.

⁵ Johannes Hocsemius, *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium Adolphi et Engelberti a Marka*, p. 373: ' . . . et circa mare propter inundationem defecit annona.'

and the customary imports ceased almost entirely. In Antwerp the moans of the famishing could almost move a stone to pity, according to the testimony of Boendale. In the streets lay their swollen emaciated forms, groaning in heartrending fashion. They died in large numbers and great pits were dug outside the town into which were cast as many as sixty bodies.¹ Van Velthem, who also witnessed these scenes, completely confirms his account.² The chronicler of the monastery of Saint Trond declared that the monks distributed food to the poor and needy at their door, and on stated days, as was their wont in time of famine, cooked a soup of peas and condiments in a cauldron for the hungry.³ According to Villani,⁴ Boendale,⁵ and the author of the chronicle of Parc, a third of the populace perished; but not much faith can be placed in such statistics which are little better than guesses. So serious a catastrophe had not been seen for a hundred years according to the chronicler of the monastery of Villers in Brabant.⁶

The pestilence swept away large numbers. When Hocsemius was in Louvain he saw a cart carry loads of six or eight bodies two or three times each day to a newly consecrated cemetery beyond the walls. So great was the effluvium of the bodies when the cart passed the house in which he was staying that he was constrained to seek new quarters in the outskirts.⁷ Van Velthem states that in all the towns of Brabant the old churchyards were speedily filled so that

¹ Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I, 442-443.

² Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, p. 393.

³ *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Trudonis* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. X), p. 416: 'In anno huius caristie larga elemosina pauperibus distribuebatur ad portam. Fuit enim in domo elemosinarii vel a tempore Willelmi primi abbatis aut a presentis abbatis Ade fornax constructus cum caldaria grandi, in qua statutis diebus pottagium ex pisis et condimentis coquebatur, quod medicantibus et pauperibus distruebatur.'

⁴ Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, col. 482.

⁵ Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I, 444.

⁶ *Annales Parchenses* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XVI), p. 608; *Martini Oppariensis Continuatio Brabantina* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XXIV), p. 262; *Chronica Villariensis Monasterii, Continuatio Secunda* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XXV), p. 213.

⁷ Hocsemius, *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium Adolphi et Engelberti a Marka*, p. 373: 'Hoc anno usque ad Augustum sequentem tanta fuit mortalitas et caristia, quod modius siligenis mensurae Thenensis decem florenis aureis vendebatur, et de hospitali in Lovanio biga bis vel ter in die onerata sex vel octo cadaveribus mortuorum, extra villam in novo facto caemiterio miseranda corpuscula continuo deportabat, qua cum transiret quotidie ante domum, qua tunc morari coeperam, foetore cogente, conduxit mihi domum in suburbiis iuxta campos.'

new ones had to be consecrated. In Antwerp the dead were collected and drawn to places of burial in carts which made the rounds of the town three or four times a day, carrying as many as ten bodies each time.¹ All dancing, playing, singing, and revelry ceased.² This condition was prevalent throughout the diocese of Liège in which much of the duchy of Brabant lay.³

At Tournai the greatest severity was reached in May, 1316. The populace, having no corn, made bread of beans, barley, vetch, and other grains.⁴ Numbers of the famishing were carried off by the pest. Young and old of all stations in life and of both sexes died in such numbers that the air was laden with a sickening effluvium. The parish priests were more than occupied with their ministrations among the sufferers. The dead were so numerous that the officials of the town appointed certain persons to remove the bodies for burial in grounds on both sides of the Schelde which flowed through the city.⁵

Few references to the famine and pestilence in Flanders can be found in the chronicles.⁶ The fortunate survival of an extraordinary document, however, enables us to draw a good picture of what happened in that land. The *scabini* of Ypres kept an account of the number of persons who died while the famine was at its height.⁷ The following table shows the number of bodies buried during each week, except five, from May 1 to November 1, 1316, and the amount of money that was expended for that purpose:

¹ Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, p. 394.

² Jan Boendale, *Brabantse Yeesten*, I, 444.

³ *Annales Fossenses*, pp. 33-34; Levold de Northof, *Origines Marcanae, sive Chronicon Comitum de Marca et Allena*, p. 398.

⁴ Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, p. 89: 'Et cepit populus in multis locis parum de pane comedere, quia non habebant, et multi fabas, ordea, vecias, et grana, quecumque habere poterant, miscebant, sicut poterant, de hoc panem faciendo et comedendo.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90: 'Et tanta copia pauperum mendicantium in vicis moriebantur super finis et ubique, quod per consilarios civitatis fuit ordinatum et commissum certis personis ut corpora pauperum sic morientium portarent citra Scaldam, in Valle de Vignea et aliis locis, et ultra Scaldam in hoc vocato Folaes, ibique eos sepelirent; et pro qualibet persona habebant taxatum salarium.'

⁶ See *Chronicon Comitum Flandrensium*, p. 179.

⁷ G. Des Marez et E. de Sagher, *Comptes de la Ville d'Ypres de 1267 à 1329*, I (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1909), 607-612.

Week ending	Number of dead	Amount paid
Saturday, May day..... May 1	?	12s
" eve of St Nicholas..... May 8	54	72s
" before Ascension..... May 15	?	30s
" after Ascension..... May 22	173	70s 6d
" eve of Pentecost..... May 29	146	63s 10d
" eve of Trinity Sunday..... June 5	101	49s 3d
" after St Barnabas..... June 12	107	50s 4d 1ob
" before St John the Baptist..... June 19	157	60s
" after St John the Baptist..... June 26	149	58s 4d
" eve of St Martin..... July 3	155	58s 8d
" after St Martin..... July 10	167	61s 9d
" before St Mary Magdalene..... July 17	158	60s 1d
" after St Mary Magdalene..... July 24	172	62s 9d
" eve of St Peter..... July 31	190	65s 3d
" before St Laurence..... August 7	191	65s 5d
" eve of Our Lady..... August 14	130	54s 9d
" before St Bartholomew..... August 21	140	56s 8d
" after St Bartholomew..... August 28	148	58s 2d
" before Our Lady..... September 4	138	56s 2d
" after Our Lady..... September 11	124	53s 7d 1ob
" after Holy Cross Day..... September 18	115	51s 3d
" before St Remigius..... September 25	37	38s 7d
" after St Remigius..... October 2	27	31s
" St Denis..... October 9	15	20s 9d
" October 16	?	?
" St Luce..... October 23	?	2s
" All Saints..... October 30	?	4s

2794 63l 9s 2d 2ob

This table shows that the number of deaths mounted rapidly after May and in the first week of August rose to a hundred ninety-one. The total number of those buried at the expense of the town certainly was more than 2794 since the numbers for five of the weeks have not been preserved. During the first weeks when the number of dead was not very great, William le Coletre, bellringer of St John's, and John de le Beke were entrusted with the task of burying all the dead

sans lumière, that is, without torches, and to collect all the bodies of the dead in the street and inter them in the churchyard of the Maselaine (Magdalene). Another person, Thieribus, was named to do the same at the church of the Holy Cross. They cannot have been very busy, for the document states that they were paid for only three days' work. During the second week, when the number of the dead began to increase, gravediggers (*delvers*) were appointed at the Maselaine and the Holy Cross and were paid twenty and sixty shillings respectively each week. The task of collecting the bodies was left to a *frère Jake*, of the hospital of Notre Dame, in which capacity he was occupied until the week of October 9 when the pestilence abated. The amount paid him for his efforts varied according to the number of bodies cared for. The largest sum paid by the *scabini* in any week for these activities was for the one ending May 22 when it mounted to 3*l* 10*s* 6*d*. The total amount spent during this period by the *scabini* was 63*l* 9*s* 2*d* 2*ob*. Undoubtedly some were buried by guilds or by private agencies; of these of course no data have been preserved. Estimates of the population of mediaeval towns are notoriously uncertain; for Ypres they run as high as 200,000 in the thirteenth century, which is of course a gross exaggeration. In 1431 the population shrank to only 10,523, and in 1316 probably numbered not more than 25,000 or 30,000.¹ If any computation on the basis of such guesses be permitted, only about ten per cent died of the famine and pestilence, which is likely to be more nearly correct than the assertions of Boendale and other chroniclers that a third of the people died. It is interesting to note that the number of dead rapidly declined in August when according to Levold de Northof the crisis had passed.²

In the northern parts of the Low Countries it was the same story. The absence of many large towns, however, prevented the disaster from being as acute as in Flanders. In Zeeland, where all the land was easily flooded, the rainy weather of 1315 must have been ex-

¹ See H. Pirenne, *Les Anciennes Démocraties des Pays-Bas*, pp. 129-132.

² Levold de Northof, *Origines Marcanæ sive Chronicon Comitum de Marca et Allena*, p. 398: 'Eodem anno (i.e. 1315) incepit caristia, quae duravit usque ad Augustum anni sequentis.'

ceedingly destructive.¹ In Holland, which for the most part also lay below sea level, crops were a complete failure. Rich and poor alike found it impossible to secure food; they roved along the roads and footways and laid their starved forms down to die.² Charities failed everywhere completely. The famishing people acted like savage animals. They ate frogs and dogs, and ferociously devoured the carcasses of animals that had died of the pest.³ A miracle was reported to have happened in Leiden. A woman who had bought a loaf of barley bread, used half of it and was importuned by her neighbor to give her the other half. She denied having any bread, and called upon God to turn it to stone if she were not telling the truth. When she later wished to use the remaining portion, she found that it had turned into stone. A chronicler toward the end of the century declared that it still was exhibited in St Peter's church at Leiden.⁴ It may be assumed that starvation and death were quite as common in other parts of the diocese of Utrecht,⁵ even though, except for Friesland⁶ and the county of Holland, practically no data can be found.

It is instructive to note how the famine affected the activities of a king. The ordinance fixing prices, made by the Parliament at Westminster, failed completely, for as prices of commodities rose in consequence of the failure of crops in 1315, people would naturally never sell food at the prices set by the royal schedule.⁷ The ordinance aroused much dissatisfaction, and in Parliament which met at

¹ Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiae*, p. 375.

² *Willelmi Capellani in Brederode postea Monachi et Procuratoris Egmondensis Chronicon*, p. 89.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91; J. H. Scheffer en Fr. D. O. Obreen, *Rotterdamsche Historiebladen*, 1ste Afdeling, Vol. I, Part I (Rotterdam, 1871), 37.

⁴ *Kronijk van Holland van een Ongenoemden Geestelijke (Werken van het Historisch Genootschap Gevestigd te Utrecht, Nieuwe Reeks, No. VI, Utrecht, 1867)*, p. 163.

⁵ *Annales Tielenses (M. G. H., SS., Vol. XIV)*, p. 26.

⁶ See Pieter Jacobz. van Thabor, *Historie van Friesland (Archief voor Nederlandsche, en inzonderheid, Vriesche, Geschiedenis, Oudheid, en Taalkunde, 2d Part, Leeuwarden, 1827)*, p. 8.

⁷ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 218-219: 'Ordinationes super victualibus prius factae penitus dissolvuntur. Itinerantes enim per patriam multum gravabantur. Nam ex quo processit illud statutum, nihil vel modicum in foro reperiebatur expositum, cum tamen prius habundaret forum venalibus, licet cara viderentur transeuntibus. Porro melius est emere care quam nihil emendum ad opus venire. Nam licet raritas annonam facit cariorem, habundantia subsequens reddet meliorem.'

Lincoln a fortnight after St Hilary (January 14) Edward acceded to the petition of the clergy, barons, and commons, and ordered it repealed.¹ Meanwhile the magistrates of London had sought to restrain the soaring price of ale. It was ordered and proclaimed on September 21, 1316, that no one might sell a gallon of the poorest ale for more than three farthings and of the best for three halfpence, at a penalty of confiscation on the first violation, abjuring the trade on the second, and expulsion from the city on the third.² How little the king and his government understood the nature of the crisis is revealed by the fact that after repealing the ordinance governing the sale of fowl and animals, they sought to maintain a fixed price for ale. From Daventry on January 22, 1317, the king ordered his subjects to observe the schedule enacted in London throughout the cities, boroughs, and mercantile towns, but instructed that in country towns ale of the best quality should be sold for a farthing.³ This ordinance is said to have caused much harm to the brewers, for they were enjoined to sell ale at a fixed price after they had bought their supplies for brewing at high prices.⁴

Edward's government sought to alleviate the distress of the populace which suffered much during the winter of 1315 and 1316. So serious was the scarcity of victuals that when Parliament met at Lincoln a fortnight after St Hilary the king through William Inge, justice of the king's bench, urged them to hasten the despatch of business because of the famine.⁵ Toward the close of 1315 Edward granted safe-conduct to burgesses of Berwick and Newcastle to bring corn and other victuals from France for the use of the town.⁶

¹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlamento Tempore Edwardi*, I, 351.

² *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, Letter-Book E* (London, 1903), pp. 71-72.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 73. See also Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, pp. 96-98.

⁴ *Annales Londonienses*, pp. 240-241.

⁵ *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlamento Tempore Edwardi*, I, 350: 'Et quod nogotia predicta, et alia in eodem Parlamento tractanda, similiter maturarentur; adiciens, quod dominus rex habuit magnam considerationem ad hoc, quod dicti prelati, comites, et alii, de longinquis partibus ibi venerant, et quod mora sua ibidem, si longa fieret, foret eis tediosa et onerosa propter caristiam victualium, que diebus illis magis gravavit quam prius facere consuevit.'

⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1317*, pp. 313, 371.

On December 18 Edward asked King Louis X of France to permit his lieges of Newcastle, Kent, Sussex, Gloucester, Essex, Hereford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Devon, and Cornwall to take corn from the region of the Somme, from Caen, Dieppe, and Ponthieu at the customary prices.¹ Safe-conduct was repeatedly given to parties to bring corn from abroad,² especially from Gascony.³ He took into his royal protection Spanish merchants, also Sicilians and Genoese who came into the realm with corn and other victuals from the corn-producing lands of southern Italy,⁴ which escaped the great crisis that raged north of the Alps. Genoese *dromonds*, laden with wheat, came to England. One of them was seized in the harbor of Sandwich by malefactors who endeavored to make away with it. On May 18 Edward thereupon ordered the barons, men, and community of Sandwich to protect merchants from foreign parts coming into the land with corn and other victuals.⁵

The king's attempts to provision his troops levied to wage war upon the Scots failed because of the great scarcity of corn. He had on June 30,⁶ and August 25, 1316, ordered his lieges to be at Newcastle on September 15, and on July 3 instructed the sheriffs of certain shires to collect food for the garrison at Berwick.⁷ The dearth of all manner of foodstuffs prevented the officials from carrying out the royal commands, and it is not strange therefore that the king on August 25 should complain that his orders had not been fulfilled.⁸ His urgent pleas were without effect, and on February 2, 1317, he felt it necessary to repeat them.⁹ He issued numerous safe-conducts to

¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1318*, pp. 318-319.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1317*, pp. 401, 438, 450.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 466, 501-502, 571-572. For grain from Sicily, see Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, col. 482.

⁵ *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1318*, p. 291.

⁶ *Rotuli Scotiae, I (Record Commission, London, 1814)*, 145-146, 160-161.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170. For difficulty in carrying out contracts made with the king to deliver

individuals to bring food to Berwick for the garrison.¹ Some of the officials engaged in purveying grossly abused their duties. In Yorkshire they sold some of the corn intended for the king's lieges, and others appropriated the money and were guilty of making erroneous notation on the tallies of the amount of corn, hay, and other materials taken, so that the king on August 17, 1316, had to issue commissions of oyer and terminer to investigate their conduct.² In Yorkshire persons pretending to be of the king's household under color of purveyance had collected various goods and victuals, whereupon the king on September 16, 1316, ordered his sergeants to seize them and place them in jail.³

Not much information of what happened in Mediterranean lands can be found. In northern Italy rainy weather during the spring and summer of 1315 prevented the ripening and garnering of crops as well as the making of wine. Pestilence raged in the Romagna and in the valleys of the Casentino and the Mugello, according to Villani.⁴ Induced no doubt by the extraordinary profits made possible by the famine, merchants of Genoa and Sicily brought corn from southern Italy, especially Apulia,⁵ to northern Europe. The English king took them into his protection as was noted above. The severity of the crisis was not passed in 1316, for in the following year there still were acute want and very high prices of grain in Parma, which may be regarded probably as quite typical of what happened in other towns.⁶

provisions, see *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1318*, p. 383.

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313-1317*, pp. 322, 386-387, 390, 394, 400-401, 468-470, 484, 540, 543.

² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

⁴ Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, col. 482: 'Questa pestilentia avvenne, per lo verno dinanzi, e poi la primavera, e tutta la state fu sì forte piovosa, e'l paese è basso molto, sì che l'acqua soverchiò il terreno, e guastò ogni sementa. Allora le terre affogarono sì, che più anni appresso quasi non fruttuarono, e corruppe l'aria molto. E dissero certi astrologi, che la cometa, ch'apparve dinanzi nel 1314 fu segno di quello pestilentia, ch'ella doveva venire, perchè la sua influenza fu sopra quelli paesi. E in quelli tempi quella pestilentia contenne simigliantemente in Romagna e in Casentino infino in Mugello.'

⁵ *Ibid.*: 'E'l caro fu sì grande di vino, e di tutte vittuaglie, che se non fosse che di Sicilia, e di Puglia per li mercatanti vi si mandò per mare per lo grande guadagno, tutti moriano di fame.'

The force of the famine which thus raged in all parts east of the Pyrenees and north of the Alps appears to have been broken by the harvests in the summer of 1316. The pestilence apparently was gone, but high prices undoubtedly still prevailed. From the mortality statistics contained in the accounts of Ypres it is apparent that the crisis passed with the harvest of August.¹ The testimony of the *Annales Lubicenses*² that there was severe famine in Flanders, Holland, Westphalia, and France should really be referred to the previous year, especially as neither Boendale nor Van Velthem make any mention of a catastrophe in 1317. Levold de Northof expressly states that the asperity of the crisis passed with the harvests of 1316.³ The same appears to be the case in western Germany around Cologne and Strassburg.⁴

In German lands along the Slavic border⁵ and in the Danube valley the crisis lingered on and appears to have been as severe in 1317 as it had been in western Germany in the previous year. There was much rain, the Danube overflowed, and grains as well as wine fell far short of the normal harvest.⁶ This was also the situation in Bohemia and adjacent Slavic lands.⁷ Unusually high prices obtained, which of course entailed hunger.⁸ Rye and oats sold at figures abnormally high as far west as Basel, where people died in the streets

¹ *Chronicon Parmense ab anno 1038 ad annum 1338* (ed. by G. Bonazzi, A. L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Citta di Castello, 1902), p. 151.

² G. Des Marez et E. de Sagher, *Comptes de la Ville d'Ypres de 1267 à 1329*, II (Bruxelles, 1913), 31.

³ *Annales Lubicenses*, p. 426.

⁴ Levold de Northof, *Origines Marcanas sive Chronicon Comitum de Marca et Altana*, p. 398.

⁵ *Fritsche Closener's Chronik*, p. 135; *Koelhoff'sche Chronik*, p. 663; *Chronik des Diedrich Westhoff von 750-1500*, p. 199.

⁶ *Canonici Sambiensis Annales*, p. 706: 'Eodem anno fuerunt multe tempestates et inundancia aquarum tam in estate quam im yeme sive autumpno.'

⁷ *Annales Zwellenses* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. IX), p. 681: 'Hoc anno fames et sterilitas inaudita facta est ex nive preteriti anni omnia sata suffocantis, et etiam ex inundacione Danubii et omnium fluminum, tam ex pluviis quam erupcione vernarum terre, que omnia stat destruxit, ut raro panis triticeus vel siligineus, sed tantum avenacius haberetur.' See also *Continuatio Zwellensis Tertia* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. IX), p. 666.

⁸ *Annales Mellicenses, Continuatio* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. IX), p. 511.

⁹ *Annales Burghausenses* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XXIV), p. 62; *Annalium Salisburgensium Additamentum* (*M. G. H.*, SS., Vol. XIII), p. 241.

and fields.¹ Many persons, driven by the pangs of hunger, roved about the countryside of the Danube valley. The chronicler John of Winterthur relates how the crowds swarmed thither in the vain hope of finding something to eat. On one occasion a large number arrived at the bank of the Danube and got into a boat with the intention of crossing over to the fertile plains beyond. The sailor in charge of the ship to ferry them across threw them into the stream, saying that it was better that they should perish in the flood than heighten the misery of Hungary, an act which apparently was approved by many.²

Northward along the Slavic border in Silesia and throughout Poland there was acute hunger and the pest raged.³ So great was the number of dead in Breslau that they had to inter them outside the walls where they built a church dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament.⁴ In adjoining Saxon lands there still was great want; large numbers abandoned their possessions and came begging into the towns, especially Lübeck, induced, it would seem, by the hope of finding food in this sea-port, where, however, great scarcity also prevailed.⁵

Elsewhere the famine appears to have been rather sporadic. There undoubtedly was some want in England in 1317,⁶ but the harvests

¹ *Die Grössern Basler Annalen (Basler Chroniken herausgegeben von der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Basel, VI, Basel, 1902)*, pp. 249-250: 'Anno 1317 galt ein fiertel rocken 5 lb, ein viertel dinckel 3 lb, ein viertel habern 30 s. Des selbigen jars verdurben vil leut von hunger, [und das sy allerley assen.] Sy assen mistel ab den boumen und viellen von hunger uff den gassen nider, und fand man sy uff dem feld todt.' It is possible, however, that this passage really describes what happened in the previous year.

² Johannes Vitoduranus, *Chronicon a Frederico II Imperatore ad Annum MCCCXLVIII Proceclens*, pp. 69-70: 'Tempore ejusdem famis accidit homines de terris prefatis fugere et ad terram Ungarie, tunc fertilem et uberem, sterilitatem aliarum terrarum penitus nescientem, properare. Cum autem in magna multitudine ad unam navim fluvii Danubii consedisent, ut proficiscerentur ad terram Ungarie, nauta, intelligens ipsorum intencionem et iter et insuper perspicens eos fame prevalida maceratos confectos et pene consumptos, navem subvertit et omnes pariter in profundum Danubii dimergendo eos precipitavit dicens: "Melius est quod in hoc fluvio pereant, quam quod terram totam Ungarie depascendo consumerent." Quod factum inhumanum immo dyabolico perswasum instinctu dum ad nostros terrigenos relacione plurimorum pervenisset, nautam celeriter commendabant.'

³ *Annales Mechevienses (M. G. H., SS., Vol. XIX)*, p. 669.

⁴ *Annales Cisterciensium in Heinrichow (M. G. H., SS., Vol. XIX)*, p. 546: '... fames valida Sleciziam et totam Poloniam oppressit, per quam innumerabiles Poloni perierunt, ita quod in civitate Wratislavie propter eorum nimiam multitudinem cives eos extra civitatem sepelire fecerunt, et ibidem ecclesiam ad honorem corporis Christi edificaverunt.'

⁵ *Detmar Chronik von 1101-1395*, pp. 434-435; *Annales Lubicensis*, p. 426.

⁶ J. E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, II*, 198.

of that summer must have greatly tempered the hunger.¹ In Ireland the agony dragged on into 1318 and proved especially severe, for the people dug up the bodies in the churchyards and used them for food, and parents even ate their children.² The year 1318, however, brought a change, for corn which had been selling for sixteen shillings suddenly dropped at St John the Baptist's Day to seven shillings, and oats to five shillings; and there was enough wine, salt, and fish for all human needs.³ In France the shortage of food apparently remained serious during 1317,⁴ and the winter that followed seems to have been very severe.⁵ For three years the Parisian *septier* of wheat had been selling for fifty *solidi*, but suddenly at Pentecost (June 11), 1318, fell to twelve *solidi*.⁶ In Slavic parts such as Poland and Silesia it appears that the famine and mortality still were common as late as 1319 and cannibalism is said to have been rife. The most revolting facts are recorded of what the starving did to relieve their hunger. Parents killed their children and children killed their parents, and the bodies of executed criminals were eagerly snatched from the gallows.⁷

Thus the extraordinary famine beginning in August, 1315, was caused by the enormous rainfall which prevented the maturing and harvesting of the fall and spring seedings. During the winter months the crisis became increasingly severe until the harvests of 1316 made a new supply of grains available. Statistics concerning the prices of corn sold in Antwerp undoubtedly reflect with great accuracy the

¹ *Flores Historiarum*, III, 174; John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, p. 195; Henry Knighton, *Chronicon*, I (*Rolls Series*, London, 1889), 411-412.

² *Annals of Loch Cé*, I, 579; *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, pp. 280, 284; *Annals of Ireland*, p. 358; *Annals of Ulster, otherwise Annals of Senat*, II (Dublin, 1893), 433; *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, III (Dublin, 1856), 521.

³ *Annals of Ireland*, p. 359.

⁴ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 435. See also *Annales Mellicensis, Continuatio* (M. G. H., SS., Vol. IX), p. 511.

⁵ *Extrait d'une Chronique Anonyme Finissant en MCCCLXXX*, p. 128.

⁶ *Fragment d'une Chronique Anonyme Finissant en MCCCLXXVIII*, p. 152.

⁷ See the passage of the *Gesta of Sigismund Rosicz* for the years 1317-1319, printed by F. Curschmann, 'Hungersnöte im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 8. bis 13. Jahrhunderts,' p. 217: '... tanta fuit caristia et fames in Polonia et Silesia, ita quod pluribus in locis parentes filios et filii parentes necantes devoraverunt, plures etiam carnes de suspensis cadaveribus comederunt....'

direful conditions which must have prevailed in all of northern Europe. Pestilence, caused no doubt primarily by malnutrition, appeared everywhere when the famine was at its height and took an enormous toll. A disastrous murrain wrought great havoc among the cattle. Perhaps the statistics of the mortality in Ypres may be taken to be indicative of the extent of the catastrophe throughout Europe north of the Alps and the Pyrenees. The force of the famine was broken by the harvests of 1316, and the pestilence thereupon appears to have passed. In western and southern Germany and in Slavic lands there were hunger and pestilence until 1318, and in Poland and Silesia the crisis lingered until 1319.¹

¹ It was impossible to consult C. Easton, *Les Hivers dans l'Europe Occidentale* (Leyden, 1928).

THE MANY-SIDED CAREER OF MASTER ELIAS OF DEREHAM

By JOSIAH COX RUSSELL

THE career of Master Elias of Dereham has slowly emerged from the obscurity of scattered references in large volumes. As early as 1845 Mr Edward Smirke caught his name in unprinted close and liberate rolls as the architect of works at Winchester.¹ Forty-two years later the Reverend Mr Bennett read an article upon Elias as the architect of Salisbury Cathedral.² He had gleaned many items from the printed collections of charter, close, and patent rolls, as well as from the *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris, the Wells' documents in the *Twelfth Report and Appendix of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, and the *Register of St Osmund*. However, his interest was architectural, and he did not exhaust his sources. A lacuna in Elias' career, 1215-1220, has been partially accounted for by Professor Powicke incidentally in a study of Stephen Langton.³ Other recent volumes, of documents, offer items about Elias of Dereham and continue a progressive revelation of his many-sided career.

The outlines of the career of Master Elias of Dereham may be sketched briefly in terms of those with whom he was associated. He appears first in 1205 as a royal clerk and rector of the church of Meauton, a man already of some importance.⁴ His connection with John's court lasted intermittently until shortly after Magna Carta or possibly until John's death in 1216. Intermittently, because he was abroad in the time of the Interdict with the brothers, Hugh and Joscelin of Wells and also served as steward for the latter when Joscelin was bishop of Bath and Wells. By 1217 Elias was in exile in France, with Stephen Langton who apparently was his patron until 1220. From 1222, at least, Elias was canon of Salisbury until his

¹ 'The Hall of the Royal Palace and the Round Table at Winchester' (Chronological Extracts from Records, etc., Royal Archaeological Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland, *Proceedings*, 1845 (Winchester meeting), pp. 68-80).

² J. A. Bennett, 'The Architect of Salisbury,' *The Archeological Journal*, XLIV (1887), 365-374.

³ F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928).

⁴ *Rotuli Chartarum*, I, 147b. April 6, 1205.

death in 1245. Apparently he was in residence there continuously until Bishop Richard Poore was transferred to the bishopric of Durham in 1228 and irregularly thereafter. From 1233 he was again associated with the royal court.

The more certain information about the creative activity of Master Elias of Dereham shows considerable versatility on his part. In describing the great translation ceremony of St Thomas à Becket in 1220 Roger of Wendover speaks of the two incomparable artists by whose counsel and skill the shrine and technical phases of the ceremony were prepared beyond reproach: Master Walter of Coleworth, sacristan of St Albans, and Master Elias of Dereham, canon of Salisbury. To have been entrusted with the shrine of England's greatest saint by Stephen Langton was a tribute to Elias' skill.¹ For another commission of importance Henry III also placed his trust in Elias, as a writ of March 6, 1238 discloses:²

To the sheriff of Wilts. *Contrabreve* to cause the marble tomb (*tumulum marmoreum*) that Master Elias of Derham is making at Salisbury to be paid for (*acquietari*) and cause it to be carried with all speed to Tarrent' to entomb (*tumulandum*) there the body of J(oan), queen of Scotland, the king's sister.

Not all of Elias' skill was devoted to the shrines of national saints or of royal sisters. At Salisbury where we found him constructing a tomb for Joan, he had built himself a house in the close which he assigned to the canon of his stall.³ It was apparently called Ledenhall.⁴ In the summer of 1234 he was granted a brick kiln in the royal forests in the custody of Henry Fitz-Nicholas to assist in the construction of a royal chapel and other buildings at Clarendon.⁵ Two years later he was allowed another kiln, also for the works at Clarendon.⁶ He gave some attention to a church at Graveline⁷ and

¹ IV, 66 (*Rolls Series*), also in Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum* (*Rolls Series*), II, 242.

² *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1226-1240*, p. 316.

³ *Sarum Charters and Documents* (*Rolls Series*), p. 203. *Ca.* 1230. See also *ibid.*, p. 354 of 1275 where a plot next to his house in the close is mentioned.

⁴ *Fasti Saresburienses*, p. 410.

⁵ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 486. July 20, 1234.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1234-1237, p. 279. June 18, 1236.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 409. January 13, 1237.

another church, at Herghes.¹ He was even to advise about a wall around the court of a woman-recluse at *Bretfad*.²

More important tasks than these occupied his attention. There is very definite information about his direction of construction of the royal hall at Winchester. He is to have a brick kiln in the forest at Melkesham to make seven thousand bricks.³ The sheriff of Southampton is commanded 'to cause timber to be felled as Master Elias of Dereham shall direct' and to have this timber carried to Winchester.⁴ In another writ of the same date the sheriff was ordered to have stone hauled to Winchester also.⁵ Later in the same summer a letter close was sent to Peter de Rivaulx requesting him to let Elias have six *fusta* in the woods of Axholt for making the great *verina* of the castle.⁶ Some weeks after this Elias was allowed another kiln⁷ and a third was granted the following spring.⁸ The pay of the laborers at Winchester had fallen into arrears by 1236, and the sheriff of Southampton is ordered to provide funds for Elias.⁹ Probably to assist in this deficiency, the king assigned 41*l* 12*s* 8*d* from the aid recently collected to pay for the gate of Winchester Castle, also in 1236.¹⁰

The tradition that Elias of Dereham was the architect and builder of Salisbury Cathedral is strengthened not only by this display of his capacity but also by direct evidence. On December 30, 1225 the king granted Elias by charter thirteen high and straight oaks as a gift for the construction of the church at Salisbury,¹¹ and in 1237 another grant was made to the same purpose.¹² Moreover,

¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1237-1242*, p. 420. May 1, 1242.

² *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1226-1240*, p. 273. June 6, 1237.

³ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 194. February 27, 1233.

⁴ *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1226-1240*, p. 219. June 20, 1233.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁶ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 242. August 1, 1233.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 254. August 27, 1233.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 433. May 28, 1234. Granted to 'Elye de Derh. custodi operationis aule domini regis Wintonie.'

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1234-1237, p. 242. February 14, 1236.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 268. May 22, 1236.

¹¹ *Rotuli Chartarum*, II, 91: 'in parvo parco domini regis de Odiham.'

¹² *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1234-1237*, p. 409 (2). Jan 13, 1237. Cf. p. 379, note 7 for another matter on the same day.

Leland has preserved the following specific assertion from the 'Martirology Book of Salisbury':¹ *Helias de Berham (sic) canon. Sarum qui a prima fundatione Rector fuit nove fabrice Eccl. Sarum 25 annis.*²

The picture of the thirteenth-century creator is quite interesting. A sculptor probably, or at least a designer, he is an artist. Yet he must busy himself with dwellings, walls, or chapels, watching brick kilns, and checking up on finance after the manner of a prosaic contractor or builder. In charge of the royal hall at Winchester or of the cathedral at Salisbury, he is the architect combining the reality of the contractor with the vision of the poet. A few lines of verse by Elias have been preserved, upon a subject which he as a builder of tall structures must have had continuously upon his mind, the winds:³

Euro Wlturnus, Subsolanusque sodales,
Africus atque Nothus Austro sunt collaterales;
Hinc Chorus, Zephirus, Favonius atque sequuntur,
Circius atque Aquilo Boream stipare feruntur.

Mites Australes sunt, dites Hisperiales,
Sunt Euri laeti, Boreales pisce repleti.

The career of Elias of Dereham, as far as we know it, was divided almost exactly in half by the years 1222-1228 when his interests seem entirely absorbed in duties at Salisbury. The first dateable document from Salisbury which shows Elias actually to have been at Salisbury is of 1222, but he was very probably there two years before.⁴ In this year he witnessed two documents, and another in the following year, 1223.⁵ From then on he appears with manifold

¹ Thomas Hearne, ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland* (3d ed., Oxford, 1769), I, 95.

² Other information about Elias' architectural efforts is suggestive but hardly satisfactory. 'I have been told on good authority' writes Mr Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 366), 'that he was the architect for the repairs of King John's palace at Westminster in the year 1209, but I have not as yet been able to verify the statement.' Bennett was also inclined to believe that Elias was responsible for contemporary construction at Wells, Durham, Lincoln, and Laon upon the basis of architectural likeness, although he disclaimed authority in such matters (*op. cit.*, pp. 369, 370.).

³ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, VI, 465: 'secundum magistrum Elyam de Derham.'

⁴ *Sarum Charters*, p. 122; February 19, 1222: *The Register of St Osmunds*, ed. W. H. Rich Jones, (*Rolls Series*, London, 1884), p. 339. See above, note 1 for 1220.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 330, Ides of May.

duties which illustrate the variety of tasks performed by mediaeval church administrators. On July 11, 1224 Elias was custodian of the *communa* or common fund. Although Christmas was yet many months away the chapter decided that on Christmas Eve the canons would drink three times at the expense of the *communa*.¹ In the following year he was entrusted with the gifts at the new altar and chapel in the cathedral, which were to be used for the fabric of the church. This trust was made, not as one might expect, because Elias was in charge, but because the bishop would entrust it to no one else!²

In 1225 Elias and William of Merton, archdeacon of Berkshire, had arranged to secure the church of Tarrant Keynes and other churches for the bishop of Salisbury.³ He went with Master Luke of Winchester in 1226 to serve as proctor for the chapter of Salisbury in London before the archbishop.⁴ The next year he represented the bishop in a final concord concerning a half-hide of land in Old Sarum,⁵ and on April 10, 1228 he represented him again, in a series of cases at the curia regis, Westminster.⁶ Elias attended to some other legal duties upon July 7 of the same year,⁷ and mediated years later in a dispute between the treasurer of Salisbury and Sir Robert de la Mare regarding tithes at Calne, Wilts.⁸

A number of notices reflect Elias' constant interest in his duties as canon of Salisbury. He was present at the first convocation in the new cathedral in 1225,⁹ and also at a meeting of the chapter in which there was a discussion of a grant to the king, August 15, 1226.¹⁰ His share was based upon a prebend whose revenue was estimated at 50 marks—in 1226 for one taxation it was 41 shillings, 8 pence.¹¹ In the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44. October 5, 1225.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26. May 27, 1225. *The Records of Merton Priory*, ed. A. Heales (London, 1898), p. 114.

⁴ *Register of St Osmunds*, p. 63.

⁵ *Sarum Charters*, p. 182. May 21, 1227.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 193 (2), 195, 197 (2).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 200. Cf. also *A Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and chapter of Wells* (Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1907), I, 365.

⁸ *Sarum Charters*, p. 270. Given as of about 1240.

⁹ *Register of St Osmunds*, p. 37.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

last three years of Bishop Poore's regime at Salisbury 1226-1228, Elias witnessed a sufficient number of charters to show that he was constantly at Salisbury.¹ In view of his past record it is not surprising that he was named a custodian of the vacant bishopric of Salisbury at the resignation of Richard Poore.²

Tradition has it that Elias accompanied Richard Poore to Durham when the latter became bishop of Durham in 1228.³ Of that there seems no positive evidence unless it be true that Elias' influence can be detected in the Durham Cathedral.⁴ He does not appear there so frequently, it is true, but this is partially explained by the fewer Salisbury documents of the period after 1228 and by Elias' oversight of royal construction which took him to Winchester, Clarendon and elsewhere. In 1228 he assented to the election of the successor of Bishop Poore.⁵ In the following year the king granted the Church of St Peter in Old Sarum to Wymond, Elias' clerk.⁶ Unless some undated charters show him at Salisbury⁷ he does not seem to be mentioned again in connection with that place until October 19, 1233: then with other canons he agreed to contribute to the new cathedral for the succeeding seven years.⁸ In 1236, however, he witnessed a grant by Bishop Robert Bingham of Salisbury which received the royal *inspeximus* of Henry III at Marlborough one day later.⁹ In the same year and again in 1238 he was party to compositions respecting tithes at Imber.¹⁰ Another composition, about tithes at Littleton, is

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25, ca. 1226; *Sarum Charters*, p. 182, May 21, 1227; *ibid.*, p. 187, September 3, 1227; *ibid.*, p. 190, 1227; *ibid.*, p. 189, October 3, 1227; *ibid.*, p. 191, January 26, 1228; *ibid.*, p. 195, 1228; *ibid.*, p. 199, July 6, 1228; *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (London, 1901, Historical Manuscripts Commission), I, 354, 1228.

² *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1227-1231*, pp. 66, 67, June 21, 1228; *ibid.*, p. 73, August 8, 1228; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 195, July 22, 1228.

³ *Fasti Saresburienses*, p. 410.

⁴ Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

⁵ *Register of St Osmunds*, p. 108.

⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 242, March 25, 1229.

⁷ *Sarum Charters*, p. 203; *Calendar . . . of Wells*, I, 365; *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1226-1257*, p. 183; an *inspeximus* of an undated charter of which Elias was a witness.

⁸ *Sarum Charters*, p. 229.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 238, February 17 and 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 246, Aug. 16.: *Various Collections*, Hist. MSS Comm., I, 385, Aug. 16. The coincidence of the month and day makes the years suspect.

recorded for 1239.¹ In 1242 he appeared as a witness,² and again in 1243.³ His death occurred in 1245: Matthew Paris mentions his decease between events of May 20 and June 4, still calling him canon of Salisbury.⁴

Elias' career is extraordinary in that it bursts upon us well-developed. In 1205 he secured from King John for one palfrey a year freedom of his church of Meauton from suit and other burdens.⁵ Yet in the same and the following years he acted as one of the custodians of the vacant archbishopric of Canterbury.⁶ At court Elias had witnessed, sometime in 1207 or before, a payment by Philip de Lucy to the king.⁷ Here he doubtless became acquainted with Hugh and Joscelin of Wells who were also royal clerks. In spite of royal favor all three went into exile during the Interdict, where Hugh made a will in 1212 witnessed by the other two.⁸ Hugh had been made bishop of Lincoln in 1209. Before this date Elias had witnessed a grant made by Joscelin to his brother, then still archdeacon of Wells.⁹ Probably sometime between 1207 and 1212 he acted as steward for Bishop Joscelin,¹⁰ although the actual date needs to be worked out more accurately. In May of 1212 King John sent a safe-conduct to Elias in order that he might come to England with his men and return again.¹¹ In 1213 he seems to have returned to the favor of King John.¹² Two years later he was among those who were given copies of Magna Carta to take to a number of places and was also in charge of the restitution of certain properties.¹³

¹ *Sarum Charters*, p. 250. August 11, 1239.

² *Ibid.*, p. 254. January 12, 1242.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 285. September 8, 1243.

⁴ *Chronica Maiora* (Rolls Series), IV, 418.

⁵ *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*, etc. (London, 1835), I, 270.

⁶ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, I, 42b, July 22, 1205; I, 43, July 27, 1205; and I, 44b, July 29, 1205.

⁷ *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, p. 82.

⁸ *Calendar of Wells I*, 365. Nov. 13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 480.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 36, 43, 487.

¹¹ *Rot. Litt. Pat.* p. 92. May 4.

¹² *Rot. Litt. Claus.* I, 146. July 21, 1213.

¹³ *Rot. Litt. Pat.* p. 180b, ca. June 19, 1215; and p. 144, June 21, 1215.

Although called *dilectus noster* by King John at this time Elias appears in the service of Archbishop Langton and Prince Louis of France two years later.

For a time in 1217 the negotiations for peace were delayed by the refusal to include Simon (Langton) and three other clerks, one of them Elias of Dereham, a clerk of Archbishop Stephen's household, in the terms of the settlement. He was deprived of his preferments and remained in Louis' service. In May 1218 Pope Honorius allowed him to hold a prebend or other benefice in France, and as he had confessed his sins, restored him to papal favor. . . . He was still receiving a pension in 1234.¹

In the spring of 1219 at the instance of Prince Louis, these restrictions were removed that Elias might return to the service of Archbishop Langton, who evidently desired his assistance in the construction of the shrine of St Thomas à Becket.²

One phase of the career of Master Elias of Dereham which is rather astonishing is the number of important special commissions given to him. In the years 1205-1207 he was an executor of the will of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as a custodian of the vacant archbishopric.³ Elias was named as an executor in the will of 1212 of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln.⁴ Along with Simon Langton, the Bishop of Coventry, and Thomas of Freckenham, Elias acted as an executor of the will of Stephen Langton in 1228.⁵ He served in the same capacity for Langton's successor in the archbishopric.⁶ As we might expect, he was an executor of the will of his friend and patron, Richard Poore, upon Poore's death some years after his translation to Durham.⁷ On November 4, 1236 Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, made his will in the presence of several, including Elias of Dereham who was named an executor.⁸ This extensive experience as

¹ F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, p. 136

² *Calendar of Papal Letters*, ed. Bliss, I, 63. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55.

³ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, p. 46b, August 16, 1205; *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, p. 61, January 2, 1206; p. 61, April 4, 1206; *Rot. Litt. Claus.* I, 92, September 16, 1207.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 384, note 8.

⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1227-1231*, p. 110, July 22, 1228.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1231-1234, p. 106, September 11, 1232; *Cal. Liberate Rolls, 1226-1240*, p. 200, February 13, 1233; *ibid.*, p. 202, February 28, 1233.

⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1234-1237*, p. 436, April 28, 1237.

⁸ *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1232-1247*, p. 66.

executor of the wills of prominent churchmen is a tribute to the confidence and even the friendship which men of extraordinarily diverse character placed in him.

In view of his many experiences as executor, it is not strange that he secured protection for the objects covered by his own will.¹ Nevertheless, the papal envoy, Master Martin, seems to have seized some of the unclaimed returns of Elias' property after the latter's death.²

Amid the manifold activities of Master Elias of Dereham, the architectural and artistic duties were probably of most importance. Henry III clearly employed him as a director of construction. It is significant that Elias was with Langton in 1219-1220 when the latter's attention was concentrated upon achieving a splendid translation ceremony and monument for St Thomas à Becket, and with Richard Poore from 1222-1228 at the time Poore's heart was set upon building the new cathedral. Indeed, it is difficult to explain why Elias changed from one to the other unless for reasons of architecture. Assuming that Elias was first of all an architect, how are we to explain his other activities? Did Elias receive a canonry at Salisbury as payment for his duties as architect, and perform the other duties out of the goodness of his heart? Or was he, and other architects, expected to serve in several capacities? Was Elias a typical builder or an exception?

The facts presented here about Master Elias of Dereham doubtless do not include everything which is to be discovered about him. A name which appears more than one hundred times in printed documents will certainly appear in collections as yet unpublished. On the artistic side of his career especially, a great deal probably can be worked out. Even before this phase is more carefully studied, his career of forty years is sufficiently amazing. He would be worthy of remark had he done nothing more than serve as executor for the wills of three archbishops of Canterbury and two bishops. He was obviously a man of wide abilities. We should like to know more

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 180, April 28, 1237, the same date as that of the mandate about the will of Richard Poore.

² Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, IV, 418.

about the more intimate side of his association with his patrons, especially Richard Poore. Administrator, lawyer, treasurer, canon, trusted friend, artist, builder, and poet, he possessed a vigorous and many-sided personality. It is hard to avoid comparing him with a contemporary and more famous Elias, the friend and successor of St Francis who built the great church at Assisi. Had he but lived two centuries later, he might have felt the autobiographic urge which would have assured him immediate and everlasting fame.

NEW MEXICO NORMAL UNIVERSITY

SOURCES FOR THE BIOGRAPHY OF ST FRANCIS OF ASSISI

By EMMA GURNEY SALTER

THE life of St Francis, and the history of the founding and early days of his Order, are well documented. The years following his death in 1226 saw a diligent collecting of records, and there exists to-day an abundance of first-hand, contemporary information, the legends or lives of the Saint being supplemented by references in other writers, Italian and foreign, members of the Order and outside it. Around this material much controversy has raged, beginning with the critical discussions in the *Acta Sanctorum* (L. Oct. II, 1768): it has become especially acute in recent years, when a whole literature has grown up around it, in which the value of certain documents has been variously estimated, according to the view taken of their date, their genuineness, and their tendentious tone. Critical texts of the most important sources are now available. A series of them has been published by the Fathers of the College of St Bonaventura at Quaracchi, near Florence (editors of the *Analecta Franciscana* and *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*);¹ by the British Society of Franciscan Studies; in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, and other periodicals. Many have been translated into English.

The present article is an attempt to discuss these sources, and summarise the results of recent criticism upon them. Even though we are regarding them from the literary rather than the historical standpoint, a few words are necessary as to the condition of affairs in the Order at the time when they were being composed, as this affected them very considerably.

As is well known, there were two parties. One clung to the strictest observance of the Rule of absolute poverty, and handed down every word of St Francis that supported its views; its records were mainly derived from Leo and the other special 'Companions' (*socii*) of the Saint. Its members were known as Observants, 'Zelanti,' or 'Spirituals,' the last name arising from their association later on with the

¹ 'Legendae Sti Francisci Assisiensis Saeculis XIII et XIV conscriptae', *Anal. Franc.*, 1926, etc.

doctrines of the Abbot Joachim of Flora. The other party, consisting of those who accepted a laxer observance, and modified interpretation of the Rule as sanctioned by Papal privileges, became known as the 'Community' or 'Conventual' party. Between extremists on either side, the great body of Friars were moderate men who wanted above all peace.

The literature produced by the first party has been contrasted with the 'official' literature, i.e. that compiled by command of the Pope, or Minister General of the Order, such as the *Legenda Prima* and *Secunda* by Brother Thomas of Celano, with his Tractate on St Francis' Miracles, and, later, the *Legenda* by St Bonaventura. This division is not very satisfactory, because the official 'lives' used material contributed by the 'Companions,' while the *Legenda* known as that of the *Tres Socii* was itself (according to the traditional account) compiled in response to the request of the Minister General.

St Francis' own writings must hold the first place as a source of information, though rather as to his personality than his biography. Many are full of character. There is an edition of them (*Opuscula S. P. Francisci*) by the Quaracchi Fathers (which leaves out the Italian *Cantico*—the 'Song of Brother Sun'), and another by Dr H. Boehmer,¹ both published in 1904. Of the writings usually considered authentic, leaving aside the devotional ones, those that are concerned with history are the Rules of 1221 and 1223—the latter embodying modifications suggested by Cardinal Ugolino, the 'Protector' of the Order—and the *Testamentum*, Francis' last setting-forth of his ideals and intentions for his Order, recalling in a simple, moving way various incidents of his life. The autograph Benediction, still preserved at Assisi, was given to Leo, and is annotated by him, his reference to the Stigmatisation being one of the earliest that we have.

The earliest life is by nearly all critics considered to be the *Legenda Prima* by Thomas of Celano, dating from 1228–1229. The late Paul Sabatier, the regretted pioneer in modern Franciscan study, claimed this place for the *Speculum Perfectionis*, which he was the first to identify as a separate work, with 1227 as its date, and

¹ In his *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi*.

Leo as its author. His view, however, for reasons to be given shortly, has not met with general acceptance.¹

In 1246–1247, we have the *Legenda Secunda* of Celano and, if accepted as genuine, the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*: in 1263, St Bonaventura's *Legenda Maior*.

The *Legenda Trium Sociorum* and the *Speculum Perfectionis* (*Mirror of Perfection*) are the two sources that have been most hotly contested: the latter, though not the work of one hand or one year, is generally admitted to be a compilation of great importance, derived from material partly written, partly oral, some of which was actually contributed by, some handed down from, Leo and the other 'Companions,' continuing from the years following the Saint's death down to 1318. Less polemical portions of this same material are probably preserved in Celano's *Legenda Secunda*, others in the *Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum Eius* (the Latin original of the *Fioretti*), and in collections found in various codices under some such heading as *Verba Fratris Leonis*. Leo died in 1271, and, although some of his rolls and parchments (*rotuli, cedulae.*) were lost or perhaps intentionally destroyed, others were carefully, sometimes secretly, treasured up: they are referred to by Ubertino da Casale, a leading 'Spiritual' of the end of the century, and are quoted by him and other 'Spirituals,' e.g. Peter John Olivi and Angelo da Clareno: thus, where such passages occur in the *Speculum* or elsewhere, Leo's work is indubitably authenticated.

The above mentioned sources will now be considered in more detail.

THOMAS OF CELANO.

At the time of the Canonisation of St Francis (July, 1228), Pope Gregory IX commissioned Brother Thomas of Celano (a town in the Abruzzi) to write a life that should make him known to the world. Thomas was probably chosen because he had some literary renown—

¹ In his *Vie de St François d'Assise* (Paris, 1894), M. Sabatier provided a masterly 'Étude Critique des Sources.' This was not brought up to date in subsequent editions, but the author from time to time published studies on the documents, and answered criticisms on his views, in his series of *Opuscules de Critique Historique*, and *Collection d'Études et de Documents sur l'Histoire Religieuse et Littéraire du Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher).

he is the reputed author of the *Dies Irae*—and because he was known to be pacific. During the last troubled years he had been absent from Assisi on the mission to Germany, and was a friend of its chronicler, Brother Jordan of Giano. He had known Francis, though not intimately. Celano had a real enthusiasm and love for Francis, as is shown in his work and in his touching description of his *Legenda Secunda*, twenty years later, as *memoriale . . . in desiderio animae*. His work was a labor of love, as well as a command performance. He was painstaking and sincere and speaks of his determination to be guided by truth. Some of his information is derived from his own knowledge, some from his enquiries among reliable witnesses. Celano is a stylist and loves playing with words; his opening remarks about his 'unpractised pen' and his desire to avoid 'ornaments of speech' were not to be taken seriously: he puts rhetorical speeches into Francis' mouth. But he gives a very good idea of his life and teaching, for instance, as to the imitation of Christ, the ideal of poverty and duty of manual labor, and the care of lepers. In the *Legenda Prima* (XXIX, 83) occurs the well-known account of the Saint's personal appearance.

This *Legenda Prima* was finished in 1229: it gives such a vivid description of St Francis' Canonisation as to suggest that Celano was an eye-witness of it, but does not mention the Translation of his body to the new, great Church in 1230. Thomas has been unfairly accused of being a partisan of Elias, the imperious Minister General under whose able and ambitious direction the building of that Church was expedited, and whose character has been so variously judged. But the praise lavished on him by Celano, and the prominent place allotted to him, were quite natural at the time of writing, and especially in view of the Pope's friendship with Elias. Celano has also been blamed for not mentioning Leo and the other *socii* by name, but he alludes to them (*Leg. Prima*, VI, 102) unmistakably, in glowing terms, as holy and devout men, pleasing to their Brethren, especially beloved of Francis, and his support in his physical weakness. He adds that he purposely omits their names to spare their modesty. Celano's defence has been successfully taken up by W. Goetz in his valuable work *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des Hl. Franz*

von Assisi (1904). Thomas perhaps relied too much on Elias for his information, and he does admittedly, whether through ignorance or intention, slur over the recent difficulties in the Order. Mention of these would have been out of place in a work intended for the outside world. He does not, for instance, allude to the Rule of 1221 or of 1223. In the final section, he records some miracles wrought by the Saint after death—those publicly announced at the Canonisation.

Celano's work became widely known and was largely drawn upon by those who came after him. Among these were Brother Julian of Speyer, who abridged him in a prose *Life* (ca. 1232) and in a metrical Office (ca. 1235), both of which still exist; and John of Ceperano—not a member of the Order—of whose *Legenda*, called after its opening words *Quasi stella matutina*, only a résumé remains. Julian's *Legenda* has been edited in the *Anal. Boll.*, XXI, 148–202; part of his rhymed Office—appalling doggerel—is set alongside it with the corresponding passages in Celano and is seen to be taken absolutely verbally from them. He inserts some hymns previously composed by Pope Gregory and two Cardinals in honor of St Francis, probably for his Canonisation. A curious point, showing the liberties taken with biography in the supposed interests of 'edification,' is the alteration of one of the opening lines. These originally ran:

Hic vir in vanitatibus nutritus insolenter
Plus suis nutritoribus se gessit indecenter¹

The second line became, by order of the Chapter General of Narbonne (1260),

Divinis charismatibus praeventus est clementer (!)

Celano's *Legenda Prima* was also abridged in Latin hexameters by Henry of Avranches, court poet of Henry III of England. A text was published by Cristofani with the title *Il più Antico Poema della Vita di San Francesco* (Prato, 1882).² Bonaventura and the

¹ Celano's statement here versified conflicts with the account given by the *Tres Socii* of Francis' youth.

² A thirteenth century MS. (*Dd.* xi. 78) of the poem was lent by Cambridge University Library to the Exhibition of Franciscan MSS at the British Museum in 1926. Cf. J. C. Russel; 'Master Henry of Avranches,' *SPECULUM*, III (1928), 41, 45, 49, 59.

'Three Companions' also quarried from the *Legenda Prima* later on.

In the years following the publication of the *Legenda Prima*, when the will and intention of Francis for the Order were being much discussed, a strong desire was felt to gather and put on record all that could be learned of him, and in 1244 the Chapter General of Genoa directed that all who had information to give should send it in. The material thus collected was handed over to Celano, so that he might compile a supplementary *Legenda Secunda*, intended more for the Order itself than for the outside public. Leo and the other *socii* sent in their documents and reminiscences, probably including the *Intentio Regulae*, in answer to the demand, and apparently—we have no actual proof of it—the then Minister General, Crescentius, who was not in favour of the Leonine party, suppressed the more contentious matter. Some parts of this same material are probably represented in the traditional *Legenda Trium Sociorum*. Celano in this *Legenda Secunda* used much of the 'Companions' work, and, in the second section of it, associated them unmistakably with himself in his Prologue and the final 'prayer of the Saint's Companions to him.' He uses the plural where in the *Legenda Prima* he had used the singular. It is possible that Leo and the others, when they saw the work referred to as their joint effort, may have felt like contributors who have been rather severely edited; for, if Crescentius suppressed, Celano certainly paraphrased and embellished.

This *Legenda Secunda* is in two parts or sections.¹ The first, which was begun in 1246 and finished in 1247, gives some incidents of St Francis' conversion and of his earlier years which, as Thomas says, he had not known before, and some later happenings.

In 1247, Crescentius was succeeded as Minister General by John of Parma, the first member of the 'Spiritual' party to hold that office. Thus, in *II Cel. ii*, Celano was able to use the work of the 'Spirituals' more freely—he quite speaks of it here as if he were only its editor—hence we have a great insistence on Poverty, and on St Francis' teaching about it. The biographical form of the first part is not continued in this, but under the heading of virtues, such as humility,

¹ Usually cited as *II Cel. i* and *ii*; the *Legenda Prima* as *I Cel.*

von Assisi (1904). Thomas perhaps relied too much on Elias for his information, and he does admittedly, whether through ignorance or intention, slur over the recent difficulties in the Order. Mention of these would have been out of place in a work intended for the outside world. He does not, for instance, allude to the Rule of 1221 or of 1223. In the final section, he records some miracles wrought by the Saint after death—those publicly announced at the Canonisation.

Celano's work became widely known and was largely drawn upon by those who came after him. Among these were Brother Julian of Speyer, who abridged him in a prose *Life* (ca. 1232) and in a metrical Office (ca. 1235), both of which still exist; and John of Ceperano—not a member of the Order—of whose *Legenda*, called after its opening words *Quasi stella matutina*, only a résumé remains. Julian's *Legenda* has been edited in the *Anal. Boll.*, XXI, 148–202; part of his rhymed Office—appalling doggerel—is set alongside it with the corresponding passages in Celano and is seen to be taken absolutely verbally from them. He inserts some hymns previously composed by Pope Gregory and two Cardinals in honor of St Francis, probably for his Canonisation. A curious point, showing the liberties taken with biography in the supposed interests of 'edification,' is the alteration of one of the opening lines. These originally ran:

Hic vir in vanitatibus nutritus insolenter
Plus suis nutritoribus se gessit indecenter¹

The second line became, by order of the Chapter General of Narbonne (1260),

Divinis charismatibus praeventus est clementer (!)

Celano's *Legenda Prima* was also abridged in Latin hexameters by Henry of Avranches, court poet of Henry III of England. A text was published by Cristofani with the title *Il più Antico Poema della Vita di San Francesco* (Prato, 1882).² Bonaventura and the

¹ Celano's statement here versified conflicts with the account given by the *Tres Socii* of Francis' youth.

² A thirteenth century MS. (*Dd. xi. 78*) of the poem was lent by Cambridge University Library to the Exhibition of Franciscan MSS at the British Museum in 1926. Cf. J. C. Russel; 'Master Henry of Avranches,' *SPECULUM*, III (1928), 41, 45, 49, 59.

'Three Companions' also quarried from the *Legenda Prima* later on.

In the years following the publication of the *Legenda Prima*, when the will and intention of Francis for the Order were being much discussed, a strong desire was felt to gather and put on record all that could be learned of him, and in 1244 the Chapter General of Genoa directed that all who had information to give should send it in. The material thus collected was handed over to Celano, so that he might compile a supplementary *Legenda Secunda*, intended more for the Order itself than for the outside public. Leo and the other *socii* sent in their documents and reminiscences, probably including the *Intentio Regulae*, in answer to the demand, and apparently—we have no actual proof of it—the then Minister General, Crescentius, who was not in favour of the Leonine party, suppressed the more contentious matter. Some parts of this same material are probably represented in the traditional *Legenda Trium Sociorum*. Celano in this *Legenda Secunda* used much of the 'Companions' work, and, in the second section of it, associated them unmistakably with himself in his Prologue and the final 'prayer of the Saint's Companions to him.' He uses the plural where in the *Legenda Prima* he had used the singular. It is possible that Leo and the others, when they saw the work referred to as their joint effort, may have felt like contributors who have been rather severely edited; for, if Crescentius suppressed, Celano certainly paraphrased and embellished.

This *Legenda Secunda* is in two parts or sections.¹ The first, which was begun in 1246 and finished in 1247, gives some incidents of St Francis' conversion and of his earlier years which, as Thomas says, he had not known before, and some later happenings.

In 1247, Crescentius was succeeded as Minister General by John of Parma, the first member of the 'Spritual' party to hold that office. Thus, in *II Cel. ii*, Celano was able to use the work of the 'Spirituals' more freely—he quite speaks of it here as if he were only its editor—hence we have a great insistence on Poverty, and on St Francis' teaching about it. The biographical form of the first part is not continued in this, but under the heading of virtues, such as humility,

¹ Usually cited as *II Cel. i* and *ii*; the *Legenda Prima* as *I Cel.*

charity, and so forth, narratives are grouped showing how they were exemplified in Francis: his end is also described.

In spite of the lapse of years, we get a much nearer view of the Saint than in *I Cel.* and the style is on the whole simpler. The first section (*II, i*) bears a close resemblance to the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*; the second (*II, ii*) to the *Speculum*. A theory has been advanced that all three may be derived from some documents now lost.

Celano included some miracles, but purposely did not multiply them: he had remarked in his *Legenda Prima* that 'miracles do not constitute sanctity, but only set it forth.' But such a demand for records of the Saint's miracles persisted that, shortly after, Celano was called upon to compile a *Tractatus de Miraculis*. (Incidentally this fresh commission shows John of Parma's confidence in his honesty and truth.) This tractate was lost for many years; some fragments were found in 1894, but the whole was rediscovered by the Jesuit Father Van Ortroj, in 1898, and published in *Anal. Boll.*, XVIII. It includes an account of the visit of the widowed Lady Giacomina to St Francis on his deathbed, thus confirming that in the *Speculum Perfectionis*.

The most striking difference between Celano's two lives is the attitude towards Elias, who had fallen into disgrace by 1246, and whose name is absolutely not mentioned in *II Cel.*! *I Cel.* is printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. The two lives, and the tractate on miracles, were published in a critical text by Fr Edouard d'Alençon in 1906.¹ Had Fate decreed that only *one* Franciscan source should survive, there can be no doubt that *I* and *II Cel.* would have been the most valuable.

LEGENDA TRIUM SOCIORUM.

The *Legenda Trium Sociorum* is in all the MSS prefaced by an introductory Letter to Crescentius from Brothers Leo, Angelo and Rufino, dated August, 1246, from Greccio, the little hermitage near Rieti where Francis had made the first Christmas *Presepio*. It

¹ *S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula, additis Opusculis Liturgicis, auctore Fr. Thoma de Celano*, (Rome, 1906.)

consists of 18 chapters, of which the last two, dealing with the Stigmata and Canonisation, are obviously different in style from the rest,—a later addition, partly drawn from Bonaventura. In some MSS, an additional chapter on the Portiuncula Indulgence has been appended; this is not an integral part of the *Legenda*. The traditional 18 chapters are printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* as an appendix to *I Cel.*, and a text was published in 1898 from a MS. at Foligno by Monsignor Faloci Pulignani.¹

The question of this *Legenda* bristles with difficulties. In the first place, the introductory Letter does not in the least describe it *as it stands*. The 'Companions' say they are not writing chronologically, and they do so. They promise new material from their own personal knowledge and do not supply it. They deal with the early years only, whereas it was in the later ones that they were intimate with St Francis. They borrow largely from *I Cel.*, whose wording is recalled in their introduction. It really seems impossible to believe that this introductory Letter describes the traditional *Legenda Trium Sociorum*, and apparently only two authorities, Faloci Pulignani, in the text above referred to, and Salvatore Minocchi,² have even tried to maintain that it does.

The most concentrated attack on this *Legenda* was made by Fr. Van Ortroij in *Anal. Boll.*, XIX (1900), 119–197. He maintained that it is a 'clever fabrication' (*pastiche*), complete as it stands, by some unknown compiler, who was, at the earliest, of the end of the thirteenth century. He rejected the Letter also. He pointed out various errors and anachronisms, and the fact that the work was not mentioned by thirteenth-century Franciscan writers, except for the allusion to the Letter and the 'Companions' names in the *Chronicle of the XXIV Ministers General*, dating from about 1369. Fr. Lemmens O.F.M.³ and Goetz,⁴ among others, consider it spurious; Fr. Cuthbert⁵ thinks that the 'Companions' are not 'the sole source' of

¹ *Sancti Francisci Legendam Trium Sociorum*, ex. cod. Fulg. edidit Michael Faloci Pulignani (Foligno, 1898).

² *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Quinta Serie, XXIV (1899), 249–302; XXVI (1900), 84 ff; reprinted in book form as *La Legenda Trium Sociorum*; *Nuovi Studi* (1900).

³ *Documenta Antiqua Franciscana*, I, 26–27.

⁴ *Quellen*, cit. *supra*, pp. 91–147.

⁵ *Life of St Francis*, (New York: Longmans, 1912) Appendix IV, pp. 433–444. See also H. Tilemann, *Speculum Perfectionis und Legenda Trium Sociorum* (Leipzig, 1902).

the *Legenda*, though he admits that the question of date and authorship is not finally settled. Lemmens looks on it as a supplement to the *Speculum*, and thinks that the Letter refers to the 'Companions' work in *II Cel.*; Boehmer holds that the Letter applies to the *Speculum*. Fr. Delorme O.F.M. believes that a *Legenda Antiqua* which he discovered in a Perugian MS. (of which we shall treat later) exactly answers to the Letter, and shows that, in an incident in the fifth chapter of the *Tres Socii*, several words are common to that and the *Legenda Antiqua* which do not occur in the *Speculum* version. Professor Burkitt is of opinion that one section (D) of Delorme's MS. is the document to which the Letter refers,¹ and that the *Tres Socii* was compiled to complete the *Speculum*. Critics have asked how, if the *Tres Socii* be fragmentary, as Sabatier and others of its defenders have maintained, it is to be accounted for that all the MSS give just these traditional chapters, and that Bartholomew of Pisa, a fourteenth-century writer, alludes to a fact in Chapter 16 as being 'at about the end of the Legend' (*quasi in fine legendae*)?

The various objections raised before 1901 were met in that year by Sabatier in his brochure *De l'Authenticité de la Légende de St François dite des Trois Compagnons*, as follows. If we allow the existing *Legenda* to be fragmentary, we may suppose that Crescentius suppressed the remainder. The new materials promised are to be looked for in *II Cel. i.* This is clearly borrowed from the 'Companions,' not the 'Companions' legend from it, because of the miraculous element and embellishments introduced in Celano. If so, the *Legenda* must date from before 1247. In style and spirit it differs entirely from the late compilations of which we have examples. If it be asserted that later writers do not use or name it, one must remember, as to name, the reticence practised about documents of the 'Spiritual' party; as to use, that it filtered down through *II Cel.* and Bonaventura. The later 'Spirituals,' such as Ubertino da Casale and Angelo da Clareno, do not quote it because they are only concerned with the Saint's later years, and the crisis in the Order. The an-

¹ See his 'Study of the Sources' in *Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of St Francis* (ed. Dr. W. Seton, London Univ. Press, 1926), and in *Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine* (Oct. 1925).

achronisms are dealt with and explained. The date is certified by the most exact ancient authority known on the sources, the *Chronicle of the XXIV Ministers General*, already alluded to, which, after mentioning the *socii*, says: *et post Frater Thomas de Celano . . . compilavit . . .*, going on to give the opening words of *II Cel. i.*

But it is really the atmosphere of the *Tres Socii* that seems conclusive: it reads like an original, not a *pastiche*; it is fresh and vivid, naïve and homely, with a fine austerity also: it corresponds with the character and thought of St Francis' own writings. As Ed. d'Alençon says,¹ it has the 'authentic note.' It is *not* polemical. Sabatier (before his discovery of the *Speculum*) called it 'le plus beau monument franciscain.' His belief in it as (a) fragmentary and (b) authentic is shared by the leading English Franciscan scholar, Dr. A. G. Little,² and appears convincing to the present writer.

Where, then, are the missing portions of the *Tres Socii* to be sought? The answer seems to be: both in *II Cel.* and in the *Speculum*, and a digression to consider the latter now becomes necessary.

SPECULUM PERFECTIONIS.³

A version of this was first discovered by Sabatier; other forms of it, of varying length and contents, have since come to light, in ten or twelve MSS. M. Sabatier had been working at a compilation, dating from about 1345 (printed in 1504) called *Speculum Vitae Beati Francisci et Sociorum Eius*, and was struck by the fact that 118 chapters of it, dealing with the Saint's later years, bearing largely on his teaching and intentions as to Poverty and the Rule, all had a close similarity in style and thought. The expression 'we that were with him' was often repeated in them. He then discovered a MS. in Paris (the Mazarin [1743] of 1459) entitled *Speculum Perfectionis*, in which there were embedded 116 of these identical 118 chapters that he had selected—a proof of his fine literary instinct—with an *explicit* giving the date May 11, 1228 (1228 the Pisan reckoning, 1227 our style.) Sabatier was thus confirmed in his belief that the

¹ *Études Franciscaines*, VII (1902).

² See his article 'The Sources of the History of St Francis of Assisi' in the *English Historical Review*, XVII (1902), 643-677, and his *Guide to Franciscan Studies* (London: S. P. C. K., 1920).

³ The full title is *Speculum Perfectionis Status Fratris Minoris scilicet Beati Francisci.*

work was Leo's, and published a critical text of it in 1898, calling it *Legenda Antiquissima, Auctore Fratre Leone*.

Its appearance was the signal for a perfect hailstorm of books, articles, and notices attacking it. The date 1227 was to most people disproved by the discovery of an earlier MS. of the work—at the Ognissanti, Florence—of about 1380, whose *explicit*, while identical as to day, month, and place of compilation, gives the year 1318. If MCCXXVIII and MCCCXVIII be compared in Roman figures, the likelihood of a copyist's error in one figure (a ten for a hundred) is clearly seen. Sabatier, with characteristic honesty, drew attention to it himself, but pointed out that the copyist's error might equally well have been from 1228 to 1318; he maintained further that the early date was confirmed by internal evidence. Under this heading, he instanced the very human and intimate details about St Francis; the absence of prophecies and similar matter that would infallibly have been inserted in a later compilation; and the correspondence of the text with the state of affairs in the Order in 1227. He considered that the *Speculum* was a protest against Elias' building of the great basilica, and that its appearance, together with Elias' alleged ill-treatment of Leo, resulted in the election of the 'Spiritual' John Parenti as Minister General in 1228. He argued that the fact of the quotations from Leo by Ubertino and other later 'Spirituals' being *all* in the *Speculum* are proofs of Leo's authorship. Sabatier admitted that the first chapter in his version, which ascribes a miraculous origin to the Rule, was out of tone with the rest, and tendentious, probably replacing an earlier, less miraculous account. He admitted, too, that there are other interpolations, such as the mention of the death of Bernard, the first disciple, which did not occur till 1240; the reference to *Saint* Dominic, and the praise of Leo's own character put into St Francis' mouth. (This last is omitted in the Rome MS.)

Sabatier maintained his original position in an *Opuscule* of 1910, and does so almost entirely in his definitive edition of the *Speculum*, which, left incomplete at his death, was published by the British Society of Franciscan Studies in 1928. The final revision and editing were ably carried out by Little, who hopes shortly to publish Tome II, containing the critical notes, partly supplied by himself. These,

we understand, will convincingly demonstrate the close relation between St Francis' own writings and the *Speculum*.

But Sabatier has not convinced most scholars. The elaborate arrangement of the *Speculum* is against its having been brought out so hastily, and even more damaging than the 1318 *explicit* is the heading or rubric of the two Mazarin codices [1743 and 989] themselves, and of all the others but three—

Istud opus compilatum est per modum legendae ex quibusdam antiquis quae in diversis locis scripserunt et scribi fecerunt socii beati Francisci.

This alone, says Van Ortro, makes Sabatier's position untenable.¹ Sabatier, however, argued that the *Istud opus* sentence was adventitious, a gloss, not a part of the work, and not corresponding to its contents. To many, however, it seems as unfair to separate this sentence from what follows as to detach the introductory Letter of the *Three Companions* from its accompanying chapters, as Sabatier himself blamed some critics for doing. This same introductory Letter is another argument against the 1227 date: had the *Speculum* been known when it was written in 1246, the 'Companions' could not have said what they do about the neglect by previous writers of the recollections and narratives which they had offered.

On the other hand, the *Speculum* cannot have been actually composed as late as 1318, since *II Cel.* uses 86 of its 120 chapters, in which the simpler style and thought, the local, intimate touches, show the *Speculum* to be the earlier of the two. For instance, the actual words of the 'Companions' are carefully preserved, whereas Celano, as already noted, makes all rhetorical. The *Speculum* is not a biography, but gives the Saint's teaching, with narratives to illustrate it, and lays stress on the Portiuncula as the 'Holy of Holies,' and on the literal observance of the Rule. In some cases, the *Speculum* possibly preserves a now lost original from which *II Cel. ii* may have derived: in some cases, it copies Celano: in others, we cannot be sure which was the earlier of the two. The chapters in it

¹ Fr Van Ortro is not quite accurate in calling this heading the *Incipit* because the MSS. all have an *Incipit Speculum Perfectionis*—in some of them the *Istud opus* sentence precedes it, in some, it follows; in three, the *Istud opus* does not occur at all; Sabatier followed one of these.

which are *not* used by Celano are apparently either later than 1246-1247, or were rejected by him as contentious.

A shorter form of the *Speculum* was discovered by Lemmens in a MS. at San Isidoro, Rome, which also contained chapters headed *Intentio Regulae*, and *Verba Scti. Francisci*. He published them in *Documenta Antiqua Franciscana* I and II (Quaracchi, 1901). What Lemmens calls a 'first redaction' contains 45 of Sabatier's 124 chapters. He considers that these are documents sent in by the 'Companions' in 1246, and compiled 30 years after, whereas Sabatier's version is a 'second redaction,' compiled later from other documents. The polemical chapters of the *Speculum* which are not found in Lemmens' version are contained in the other material (*Intentio Regulae*, etc.) in the MS.: this corresponds to writings of Leo described by Ubertino and Angelo. Ubertino apparently knew the *Intentio* as a separate writing; his quotations follow the order of its chapters, not those of the *Speculum*.

A MS. purchased by Little from the Phillipps Collection also contains 50 chapters of the *Speculum* in a text much nearer Lemmens' version than Sabatier's.¹ It contains certain chapters resembling *II Cel. ii* that are not in the *Speculum*, but in a simpler, directer style. This simple, almost bald style is characteristic of Leo and his group, and is in marked contrast to the rhetorical antitheses and elaborate panegyrics of Celano and Bonaventura. It is homely and unpretending, sometimes provincial (e.g. in the use of words assimilated from the Italian, like *guerra*; *petia* (for *pezza*), *zucarium* (for *zucchero*)). Sometimes it rises to eloquence. As a priest, Leo must have known more Latin than his master probably did,² but one frequently feels that he preserves Francis' actual words translated from the vernacular, as in the oft-cited '*Fratres mei, non debetis me facere dicere rem totiens*' (!) which Celano 'improved' out of all recognition. The saying occurs in the attractive story of the parsley (Phillipps MS. chap. 187), an example of one of the chapters referred to above, which this MS. gives in full, while both Lemmens' and Sabatier's

¹ See *Opuscles de Crit. Hist.*, xviii and *Collectanea Franciscana* I (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies).

² Eccleston speaks of a letter from Francis 'which had bad Latin in it.' We fear his French was not much better, much as he loved using it; the 'Three Companions' tell us 'he spake it not aright!'

versions have only a summary of the moral. A weighty, recent contribution to the *Speculum* problem is furnished by the discovery and description by Delorme of a MS. (1046) in the Municipal Library at Perugia, published in *Archiv. Franc. Hist.*, XV (1922), to which reference has already been made. The MS. contains, among other items (e.g. Franciscan Papal Bulls; Bonaventura's *Legenda*; a series of over 100 Franciscan anecdotes), a compilation called *Legenda Antiqua Sancti Francisci*; it is a copy, and dates from about 1311. Some of its pages are lost. Several indications would date the original as probably from between 1239 and 1247. Its author must have known the various MSS preserved in the convent at Assisi, as it was only there that he could have access to the Bulls. Nearly all the chapters of this *Legenda Antiqua* are found in Lemmens' *Speculum*, or in the other documents of his MS. or in Little's MS. Burkitt suggests that Sabatier's version of the *Speculum* borrowed from this Perugian MS. and rearranged its material. Delorme considers his discovery to be the source of the *Speculum*, and a source of the *Tres Socii*. Some of its chapters are obviously extracts from Celano, but, equally obviously, some are earlier than the *Speculum*. For instance, a present tense in the *Legenda Antiqua* often becomes a past one in the *Speculum*. The former speaks of the Poor Clares as being still at San Damiano; the latter, of their having moved into Assisi, as they did in 1260. Chapters 42 to 115 must be earlier than *II Cel.*, as Celano worked them up and embellished them. Delorme considers that this *Legenda Antiqua* exactly answers, as a source, to the '*Istud opus*' sentence of the *Speculum*, and also to what the 'Companions' promise in their introductory Letter.

Now, previous to Delorme's discovery, a MS. in the Vatican (4354) had been known, containing, among other material, a *Legenda Antiqua*, which included 57 chapters of the *Speculum* in the order of Sabatier's version, and 30 of the *Actus*.¹ Its compiler speaks of a *Legenda Vetus*, from which Bonaventura drew, and which was ordered to be read at table in the Avignon convent when he was there. It is not known what this *Legenda Vetus* was; it has been suggested that it may have been the original version of the *Legenda*

¹ Several codices in other places, e.g. at Fribourg, contain it; some give more *Spec.* chapters.

Trium Sociorum. This Avignon compilation, probably dating from between 1322 and 1328, is usually known from its heading as *Fac secundum Exemplar* (from *Hebrews* viii, 5). Sabatier and Lemmens had both published fragments of this *Legenda Vetus* from two different MSS.; the seven chapters which compose Sabatier's fragment are found in Little's MS. already mentioned, following some *Speculum* chapters, without any separate title.

To sum up the *Speculum* question: There seems no doubt that Leo's material is largely and more or less directly represented in the *Speculum*, the *Legenda Antiqua*, and the *Actus*, and, though we cannot regard him as sole author of the *Speculum*, or accept Sabatier's date for it, its value still remains very great. We feel that it brings us very near to St Francis: it is, as Little has said, 'the most valuable authority for his *inner* life.' We may consider that its greater part consists of documents sent in by the 'Companions' in 1246, (probably the portions missing from their *Legenda* as it stands), plus earlier and later writings of Leo, all collected and arranged—with some additions at the time of arranging—at the Portiuncula (as the *explicit* tells us) in 1318. At this date, it would serve as a manifesto against Pope John XXII, who was taking hostile action against the 'Zelanti.'

Returning to the closely linked problem of the *Tres Socii*, it may be observed that the 16 chapters of the traditional *Legenda* represent largely what the 'Companions' took from others, while their own reminiscences are found in the *Speculum*, authenticated by the 'we that were with him,' which never occurs in the *Legend*. A sixteenth-century Florentine chronicler, named Mariano, quotes incidents as from the *Tres Socii* which are not in the traditional *Legenda*, but which *are* in the *Speculum*, and which answer to the promises of the introductory Letter to the *Legenda*. In several MSS, the 16 chapters of the *Legenda* are followed by part of the *Speculum* or *Actus*, so the Letter may apply to those also, and would justly describe them. Jörgensen¹ has suggested that possibly they formed a second part of the *Legenda*, the first 16 chronological chapters alone

¹ *St Francis of Assisi*. Authorised English Translation by T. O'Connor Sloane. Appendix, pp. 374, 375. (New York: Longmans, 1912).

bearing the name of *Legenda*: this would account for Bartholomew's remark about an incident 'near the end,' as other of his quotations show that he knew a complete form. The neglect of the *Legenda* by later writers might be accounted for by the fact that *II Cel.*, which included their oral communications also, appears more official, and fuller, and makes the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* rather resemble a preparatory sketch.

A close kinship has been pointed out between the traditional *Tres Socii* and a short *Legenda* of 12 chapters by an anonymous writer, known as the *Anonymous Perugian*, which has been published by Fr. Van Ortroy *in extenso* in *Miscellanea Franciscana*, IX (1902), 33-48: it had appeared incompletely in *Acta Sanctorum*. The writer speaks of himself as a disciple of the first *socii*, and cannot have written much before 1290 as he quotes the compilation of Bernard of Bessa, Bonaventura's secretary, of about 1280. He gives one or two details not otherwise known, e.g. the name, Albert, of the old beggar whom St Francis chose to bless him. Possibly the two legends derive from some common origin.

Before leaving the *Tres Socii*, we must make mention of a reconstruction attempted by two Franciscan Fathers, Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli, in 1899, based on an old Italian version of unknown date. This they turned into Latin and published as *La Leggenda di San Francesco scritta da tre suoi compagni pubblicata per la prima volta nella sua vera integrità*. In addition to the traditional 16 chapters, this adds 63, which are drawn from the *Speculum* or Celano. They do not agree in manner or length with the first 16. Though not convincing, this reconstruction may possibly represent the stage in which the *Tres Socii* had been revised by the authorities before being sent to Celano.

ST BONAVENTURA.

The publication of so much of the 'Companions' material as above described, together with the fall of Elias, encouraged the party of the strict Observance, who pressed their claims to be the only real followers and interpreters of Francis' intentions. Controversy in the Order increased and feeling ran so high that the authori-

ties felt that it must be stopped. There must be no more appealing from this record to that, in support of rival positions: these records must be superseded by one authorised, official, non-partisan standard *Life* of the Founder. The fall of Elias made it necessary to revise the existing, official *Life*, Celano's. Accordingly, in 1260, the Chapter General of Narbonne ordered Bonaventura, who had become Minister General in 1257, to produce a *Life* which should supersede both it and all the 'Companions' material. Bonaventura was a 'moderate,'—a learned and eloquent writer, while at the same time enough of a mystic and ascetic to appreciate that aspect of the Founder. Between 1260 and 1263 he produced his *Legenda*, very tactful and discreet, warranted to offend no one. All controversial points are omitted—the *Testamentum*, for instance, is not mentioned. Beautiful as this *Legenda* undoubtedly is, it suffers considerably as an historical source in consequence. In it St Francis tends to become—so far as anyone can make him—the conventional Saint. It contains little new material, in spite of the researches which the writer made: this shows how thorough Celano had been.

From this *Legenda*, known as *Maior* (printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*), its author abstracted one known as *Minor* for choir use. They are published together by the Quaracchi Fathers (1898). Bonaventura's *Legenda Maior* was also sometimes called *Nova*, in contrast to Celano, whose First and Second *Lives* were each apparently described as *Legenda Antiqua*,—a fruitful source of confusion, since not only did the Avignon document also bear that name, but also another, now lost, to which the writer of the *Chronicle of the XXIV Ministers General* constantly refers.

In the supposed interests of peace, a startling and drastic decree was now issued by the Chapter General of Paris, 1266, to the effect that all previous *Lives* or *Legends* of St Francis, wherever they existed, were to be sought out and destroyed! The decree seems to have been rigorously executed, and accounts for the scarcity of MSS of Celano and others; only seven MSS of *I Cel.* and eighteen of the *Tres Socii* now exist, as compared with 179 MSS of Bonaventura. Certain writings of the Observants were, in spite of it, secretly preserved and discussed, as we have noted. The Chapter General hoped

to render Bonaventura's *Legenda* acceptable to this party by asserting that its narratives were compiled 'from the mouth of them that had been nigh continuously with Blessed Francis . . . which things he (Bonaventura) had diligently proved before placing them therein.' But it obviously could not satisfy them, and their appeals to 'Spiritual' records continued. Bonaventura's work, however, became at once, and has remained, popular with the general public, and served as the basis for the frescoes in the Upper Church, Assisi.

Bonaventura's secretary, Bernard of Bessa, in about 1280, made a résumé of the earlier legends and of Bonaventura's own, mentioning some of the earlier biographers and the 'Companions': *II Cel.* is not mentioned, though *I Cel.* is. He adds some new incidents, and gives an account of the three Orders. This work is known as the *Liber De Laudibus*, and will be found in *Anal. Franc.* III.

Before we pass on to the authorities of the next century, some contemporary, or almost contemporary, accounts of St Francis must be mentioned, such as the famous letter of Elias to the Order at the time of the Saint's death, in which he describes the Stigmata: the description of his preaching and appearance by one Thomas of Spalato¹ who heard him in Bologna in 1222 (he confirms Celano's account of his insignificant physique—'mean to look upon,' as the *Fioretti* say later—): and the description of the Founder and his Order contained in two letters² of 1216 and 1220 of the French Bishop, Jacques de Vitry, and in his *Historia Occidentalis* (cap. 37), in which he relates how he saw Francis during the siege of Damietta by the Crusaders, and calls him 'a man simple and unlettered, beloved of God and men.' Several scenes of Francis' life, e.g. the 'Chapter of the Mats,' are related in the *Chronicle* of Jordan of Giano (ca. 1262): Jordan knew him personally, and describes his journey to the East in 1219-1220, and the troubles that arose in his absence.

Thomas of Eccleston's *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*

¹ Reprinted from Thomas's *Historia Salomonitarum* in *Acta Sanctorum* (L. 842). The date is there given, incorrectly, as 1220.

² *Gesta Dei per Francos. Epist. ad Fam.*, p. 1146.

(ca. 1258) has, of course, references to the Founder, but does not add materially to our knowledge of his life: the same may be said of Salimbene's gossiping *Chronicle* (1283-1288). A great number of writers outside the Order, and at a distance, e.g. in Sicily and the North of France, give descriptions of, or allusions to, St Francis, showing how widespread was the interest in him. One of the earliest is an official of Pope Gregory IX's court, who, in about 1240, describes his Canonisation, and the Pope's presence at it. In England, Roger of Wendover (before 1236) relates Francis' life at some length in his *Chronicle*, but with wild inaccuracies: this Matthew Paris inserted, with some alterations, in his *Chronica Maiora* shortly after, under the year 1226.¹

Jacobus da Voragine (†1288) devoted chapter 144 of his *Golden Legend* to St Francis.

There are also references in Papal Bulls (see *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. J. H. Sbaralea, Rome, 1759 etc.) and other documents. One of the most interesting of the latter is the *Donatio Montis Alvernae* of 1274 (also in Sbaralea), by which the sons of Count Orlando of Chiusi, who first gave the holy mountain to St Francis, make it over to his Order for ever. Faloci Pulignani refers to an inscription of 1216 to be read some years back—I do not know if it is still there—on the outside wall of the apse of Sta Maria del Vescovado, Assisi, '... *Tempore Episcopi Guidi et Fratris Francisci.*' This points to the esteem in which he was held in his lifetime.²

The exquisite early allegory, the *Sacrum Commercium Beati Francisci cum Domina Paupertate*, is not described here, as not being biographical. It was edited by Ed. d'Alençon in 1900. Its authorship is disputed, but it may probably be assigned to John of Parma.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

The most important authority of this century is the *Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum Eius*, from which the *Fioretti* were almost certainly translated. As already said, it derives largely from the

¹ These and others will be found mentioned in Lemmens' *Testimonia Minora Saeculi xiiii* (*Archiv. Franc. Hist.*, I (i and ii)).

² *Misc. Franc.*, II, 93.

Tres Socii. It probably dates from between 1322 and 1328; the authorship is unknown, but it has been traditionally ascribed to a Brother Ugolino Brunforte di Monte Giorgio. Probably it is a compilation. Special interest is shown in the Friars of the March of Ancona. There are several MSS of the *Actus*, with rather varying contents. Some include certain chapters of the *Speculum*. Sabatier published a tentative edition in 1902.¹ The Latin text of this includes some 22 chapters that are not in the Italian, and six of the Italian chapters are missing in it: these have since been discovered in the Phillipps MS. purchased by Little, and are published in *Coll. Franc.*, I (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies). The lovely, pure, early Tuscan of the unknown translator is far more charming than the Latin, and is worthily rendered in Sir Thomas Arnold's translation (Temple Classics). A critical Italian text is badly needed: the best is probably that by L. Manzoni, (Rome, 1900).

The *Fioretti* are fragrant with the true Franciscan spirit, but in them history is blent with popular fable. The first section, of 38 chapters, dealing with St Francis and his *socii*, is probably considerably earlier than the latter part.

The highly controversial writings of the 'Spirituals,' though constantly appealing to the teaching of Francis, hardly contribute to our biographical information. In the confused, bitter-sweet, mystical masterpiece of Ubertino da Casale, for instance, the *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae Iesu*, which appeared in 1305 (printed in 1485), a great part of Book v, chap. 2, is taken up with what Leo handed down as St Francis' teaching on absolute poverty: (cf. Sabatier's *Spec. Perf.* chaps. 2 to 5, 11 and 26).² Angelo da Clareno knew several of the 'Companions': he quotes as a record of Leo's the *Verba Scti. Francisci* edited by Lemmens, and is the author of an *Expositio Regulae Fratrum Minorum* (ca. 1321) based on Leo.³ Between 1314 and 1330 he compiled a *Chronica Septem Tribulationum Ordinis Minorum*,⁴

¹ Also, in the same year, the Latin text of the *Fioretti* chapters by themselves, under the name *Floretum Sancti Francisci Assisiensis*.

² Ubertino is an extraordinarily interesting figure. Reference may perhaps be permitted to an article on him by the present writer in *Franciscan Essays* (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, 1912).

³ Ed. L. Oligier (Quaracchi, 1912).

⁴ Shortly to be published in *Anal. Franc.* Published in part by Cardinal Ehrle S. J. in

which begins with the innovations introduced while Francis was in the East, and describes with pardonable bitterness the treatment to which Angelo himself and his friends, especially John of Parma, were subjected by the 'Conventuals.'

Dante mentions Ubertino only to condemn him as an extremist (*Par.*, xii, 124). His glorious Canto about St Francis (*Par.*, xi) is drawn from Bonaventura; Leo is not mentioned; nor does Dante give any new biographical details. The striking image of Poverty scaling the Cross, while even the Blessed Mother stood below, is taken from the *Sacrum Commercium*.

SPECULUM VITAE BEATI FRANCISCI ET SOCIORUM EIUS.

Reference has already been made to this compilation, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century (p. 397 above). It is a chaotic work, full of repetitions, but incorporating some very valuable fragments among its heterogeneous contents. It has been described and analysed by Sabatier (*Opuscule*, vi). It is largely made up of chapters of the *Speculum Perfectionis* and *Actus*, which the compiler tries to fuse, together with portions of St Bonaventura and the *Chronicle of the XXIV Ministers General*, and some of St Francis' own writings.

Some sections relate to the early followers, and it concludes with a series of *exempla* (anecdotes for use in sermons).

THE CHRONICLE OF THE XXIV MINISTERS GENERAL.

This lengthy chronicle—compiled between 1369 and 1379—has already been quoted in reference to the *Tres Socii*. The text is printed in *Anal. Franc.*, III. Its author has been thought to be a Brother Arnold of Sarano, in Aquitaine: he shows special knowledge of that province. The *Chronicle* is based on many early documents, including *I* and *II Cel.*, Bonaventura, and Eccleston; the *Liber De Laudibus* of Bernard of Bessa is transcribed, practically in full. Only the earlier sections deal with the life of St Francis; these also describe the starting of the Third Order, and the Portiuncula Indulgence. This work was much used by such later compilers as Glassberger, a writer of the early sixteenth century.

Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, II. Vols. I and III also contain 'Spiritual' literature.

THE INDULGENCE OF THE PORTIUNCULA.

There has been much debate as to whether the petition by Francis for this Indulgence and its granting by the Pope (Honorius III) was an actual incident in his life, or a later fabrication. Either conclusion involves serious difficulties. That of the silence of *all* the *early* writers, (including the Leonine group, who most desired to magnify the Portiuncula), is hard to explain, but it was already faced by the compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum*, who also set out the first witnesses in favour of the Indulgence that were then known. It has been further met by Sabatier; by Father Cuthbert (in Appendix ii of his *Life of St Francis*, 1912), and by others. The *Acta Sanctorum* referred to the *Tractatus de Indulgentia S. M. de Portiuncula* of Brother Francis Bartholi of Assisi, and this was edited by Sabatier in 1900. Its exact date is unknown, but is probably about 1336, or rather later. Bartholi's treatise is the most important work extant dealing with the Indulgence; he gives a number of testimonies to its truth and its dependence on Francis himself. In his Introduction to it, and in an earlier pamphlet (1896) entitled *Un Nouveau Chapitre de la Vie de S. François*, Sabatier summed up the evidence that had led him to abandon his first attitude of doubt or denial, and to accept the story. Jörgensen¹ has similarly pronounced his own palinode. Whatever the first beginning of the Indulgence may have been, it was well known about fifty years after the Saint's death, as references of that time show.

The last ancient authority to be mentioned—for with the close of the fourteenth century we come to the end of sources that can be so described—is the *Liber Aureus Conformitatum* (or *de Conformitate*) *Vitae Beati Patris Francisci ad Vitam Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, of Bartholomew of Pisa. Begun in 1385, it appeared in 1399.² It is based on the early biographies, which the author had studied, and traces in a fanciful way the parallels between the life of Christ and of St Francis. It became the object of violent attack later by the Lutherans, expressed in the scurrilous *Der Barfuser Münche Eulenspiegel und Alcoran* of Erasmus Alberus (1542), which was

¹ *St Francis of Assisi*, pp. 172-173.

² Published in *Anal. Franc.*, IV and V.

translated into Latin; also into English, as the *Alcoran of the Barefote Friars* (1549).

It would be impossible to conclude without a passing mention of that indefatigable seventeenth-century Irish annalist of his Order, Luke Wadding. He begins with its history from the early days, and, in spite of some inaccuracies, is an invaluable authority. Wadding also compiled a list of writers of the Order. In some cases, as in that of St Francis' own compositions, later criticism rejects some writings which he had included as genuine.¹

Possibly future research may discover fresh MSS that may throw light on those already known, and settle some vexed questions: it is unlikely that they will materially affect the picture of Francis given in the *Lives* above considered.

¹ *Annales Minorum* (Lyons, 1625-1654); *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (new edition, Rome, 1906).

LONDON

NOTES

ORLEANESE FORMULARIES IN A MANUSCRIPT AT TARRAGONA

THE preëminence of Orleans as a centre of the *ars dictaminis* in France has long been recognized. Apparently the cultivation of *dictamen* at Orleans and in its neighborhood was closely connected with the revival of literary studies in the twelfth century, and the earliest treatises and collections from Orleans and Fleury reflect these classical and literary preoccupations.¹ In the course of the thirteenth century, however, and more definitely from about 1235 on, Orleans becomes a school of civil and canon law,² and the collections of letters take on a more legal character.³ This transition is illustrated by two collections preserved in a manuscript of Tarragona, to which, so far as I am aware, attention has not been called. This codex, no. 6 of the Biblioteca Provincial, I examined in 1913, and am now able to study in detail through photographs kindly made by Mr. Walter M. Whitehill, Jr.

The manuscript, written in various hands of the thirteenth century, is incomplete at the beginning and at the end, and parts of it have been misplaced in the binding. It contains ninety-eight folios, as follows:

Fols. 1-15, 97v-98r, sixty letters of Stephen of Tournai, whose early life was associated with Orleans, with no heading, beginning in the midst of

¹ See particularly L. Delisle, 'Les Écoles d'Orléans au douzième et au treizième siècle,' in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 1869, pp. 139-154; C. V. Langlois, 'Maltre Bernard,' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIV (1893), 225-250, 792-795; and the other monographs cited in my *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* (Oxford, 1929), p. 190. On the decline of literary studies at Orleans in the thirteenth century, see L. J. Paetow's edition of *La bataille des VII ars* of Henri d'Andeli (Berkeley, 1927).

² Besides the general accounts of H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895), II, 1, pp. 136-148, Marcel Fournier, *Histoire de la science du droit en France*, III (Paris, 1892), 5-11, and the same, *Statuts et privilèges des Universités Françaises* (Paris, 1890-94), I, nos. 1-6, see particularly E. M. Meijers, 'De Universiteit van Orleans in de XIII^e Eeuw,' in *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, I (1919), 108-132, 443-488. For references in formularies to town and gown riots of 1236 and thereabouts, see H. C. Lea, *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 23, and Haskins, 'Two Roman Formularies in Philadelphia,' in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* (Rome, 1924), IV, 284-285. On the dispersion of 1229, cf. the 'Sermo cancellarii Parisiensis quem fecit Aurelianus ad scolares de recessu scolarium a Parisius, quem fecit in vigilia Pasche': Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 62, note.

³ Cf. Langlois, 'Notices et extraits de trois formulaires Orléanais,' in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXXIV, 2 (1895), 1-18.

letter ccviii (Migne, *P.L.*, CXXI, col. 486): '... semper excutio. Venientibus ad me in confessione . . .'

Fol. 5r, three student letters printed below (nos. 5-7).

Fols. 15v-16r, lists of Latin synonyms, such as appear in the same hand on fols. 68v-70r.

Fols. 17r-35r (without heading), the Orleanese formulary of ecclesiastical procedure and correspondence (ca. 1234) described below as No. II.

Fols. 35r-55r, going on in the same hand, the Orleanese formulary of Master Renerius, described below as No. I.

Fols. 56v-57r, notes on reserved cases, dated 1401.

Fols. 57v-62r, forms of letters concerning the diocese of Orleans in the time of Bishop Philip, apparently a continuation of No. II.

Fols. 62v-67v, a brief treatise on canonical procedure, incomplete at the end, beginning: 'Quia causarum decisio per iudicium debet determinari, videndum est quid sit iudicium . . .' There are some brief anonymous examples, and the following illustration indicates the academic environment: 'Si Titius promiserit Seio decem causa legendi duos libros et potat illa decem prius legerit unum . . .'

Fol. 68r, two forms of petition for benefices.

Fols. 68v-70r, lists of Latin synonyms; cf. fols. 15v-16r.

Fols. 71r-80v, in an English hand, formulary from England, of the time of Gregory IX, with a document dated 1235 on fol. 79r.

Fols. 81r-96v, collection of forms of correspondence from Italy of the time of Gregory IX and Frederick II, with samples of salutations and exordia. The places mentioned center chiefly about Bologna, but there are also references to Naples.¹ Inc.: 'Rudes et insolentes dictatores . . .'

I

The earlier of the two Orleanese formularies in our manuscript is preceded (fols. 35r-37v) by a brief theoretical treatise which bears the name of an unidentified Master Renerius:²

¹ On fol. 83v we find a letter addressed to A. (= Eleanor), queen of England (1236-72), and a letter recommending John, clerk of the king of England, to Odo, cardinal deacon of St Nicholas in Carcere (1227-44), so that this Master John would appear to be connected in some way with the collection. On fol. 87r begins anonymously the eulogy of Master Arnald the Catalan, professor at Naples, by Terrisio di Atina, published by G. Paolucci in 'Documenti inediti del tempo Svevi,' pp. 44-45, in the *Atti* of the Palermo Academy, 3d series, IV (1897), and by F. Torraca in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XXXVI (1911), 247-248.

² He can hardly be Rainerius Perusinus, author of a *Summa artis notariae* and teacher at Bologna in 1219, on whom see H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, II, 1, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1915), 256-257, and the editions by A. Gaudenzi, *Bibliotheca iuridica medii aevi*, II (Bologna,

Hic incipit modus dictandi secundum Magistrum Renerium. Cum plura sint genera dictaminis et plures modi dictandi, scilicet metricae et prosaicae, omisso metrico de prosaico dicemus. Dicitur autem metricum secundum pedum vel metri observationem, et dicitur metricum a metros quod est mensura. In versu autem observatur pedum mensura et metrum dicitur correptio et productio sillabarum. In tali metro secundum communem usum tantum tres pedes considerantur, scilicet dactylus spondeus trocheus, et dicuntur pedes metaforice quia sicut pedes regunt euntem ita isti tres dicuntur regere metrum sive versum. In prosaico autem non sunt pedes considerandi ut mensura pedum scilicet correptio et productio, ponimus tamen propter ornatum vel eleganciosem modum dictandi duos pedes, scilicet dactylum et spondeum ut patebit inferius. Dictamen autem prosaicum et epistola idem est secundum quosdam . . .

The author goes on to consider the five parts of a letter, especially the salutation, then the formal *privilegium*, and, under *narratio*, the use of dactyls and spondees, followed by the barest reference to barbarisms and solecisms and an enumeration of eight styles of petition. All this is in the manner of the manuals of the twelfth century, to one of which we are twice referred under salutations: *secundum Bernardum*¹ (fol. 36r, 36v). The salutations belong to the period of Innocent III (1198–1216), Philip Augustus (1180–1223), and Peter, archbishop of Sens (1200–22).

The treatise is followed immediately (fols. 37v–55r) by a collection of 294 forms of letters from the years 1216–23. Honorius III² is now Pope (1216–27), but Philip Augustus is still king, save in one instance (fol. 48v), where we find L.,³ and Philip is bishop of Orleans (1221–34). There are allusions to the Albigenian wars (fol. 39v) and to the expedition of Prince Louis to England in 1216–17 (fol. 40v). The letters deal with the region of the Orléanais and include not only the principal churches of Orleans but many forms for secular correspondence as well, so that they were evidently meant for general use. The official does not appear frequently (fol. 52v).

The collection is thus somewhat later than the Orleanese formulary analyzed by Cartellieri,⁴ and its forms are more practical and specific. It is lacking in bits of pure imagination and has very few forms of the *socius socio* type. Indeed the student letters are comparatively rare and such as there are deal with rather definite situations.

1892), 25–73, and L. Wahrmund, *Quellen zur Geschichte des römisch-kanonischen Processes im Mittelalter*, III, 2 (Innsbruck, 1917).

¹ On the *dictatores* who bore the name of Bernard in the twelfth century, see Langlois, 'Maitre Bernard,' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIV (1893), 225–250, 792–795; Haskins, 'An Italian Master Bernard,' in *Essays Presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 221–226.

² Innocent, however, still on fols. 45r, 47v.

³ Also, on fol. 42v, B. and S. (!)

⁴ A. Cartellieri, *Ein Donaueschinger Briefsteller: Lateinische Stilübungen des XII. Jahrhunderts aus der Orleans'schen Schule* (Innsbruck, 1898).

Grammar is evidently still the leading study, for we hear of texts of classical authors pawned while the borrowing student went on the Albigensian Crusade (no. 1), and we learn of another student sufficiently advanced to lecture on grammar if he but receive the money necessary for the purchase of suitable academic robes (no. 2) :

(1) (fol. 39v) Socius socio salutem. Vestram certificamus dilectionem, quod auctores postulatos a vobis ad presens vobis non possumus commodare, quia cum iter arripuerimus apud Albigenses¹ memoratos auctores decrevimus obligandos eo quod pecunie nobis minime suppetebant, sed dictos auctores si facultas vobis imminet redimatis et eis fungentes ipsos fideliter observetis.

(2) (fol. 46r) Carissimo avunculo suo tali canonico talis scholaris salutem et debitum in omnibus famulatum. Non verus sed fictus amicus dicitur qui accedente necessitatis tempore pro suis viribus non succurrit. Satis novit vestra discretio quod causa studii dolores angustiasque quamplurimas sitim famem aliasque miseriae diu sustinere minime dubitavi. Nunc autem per Dei gratiam quoniam in arte grammatica aliquantulum sum peritus, mihi quarundam scholarum regimen est concessum. Cum igitur vilibus sim indutus (fol. 46v) vestibus et in facultatibus non habeam unde vestes valeam comparare, discretionem vestram in quantum possum humiliter exoro quatinus capam et tunicam mihi per latorem presencium transmittatis. Mihi siquidem esset et vobis maxime pudibundum si in tam vili veste in talibus scolis maxime doctoris officium exercerem.

The following letter bears on the matter of charging fees for instruction, a question of some interest² in connection with the cathedral schools and the early universities. The bishop of Orleans decides against gratuitous instruction, save in the case of poor students (fol. 46v) :

(3) *Episcopus scholaribus.* F. Dei gratia Aurelianensis episcopus universis scholaribus in scolis Aurelianis commorantibus salutem et ad scientie plenitudinem totis viribus hanelare. Cum nemo propriis cogatur stipendiis militare, dignum est ut qui ad honus eligitur a mercede nullatenus repellatur. Solite benignitatis affectu litteras vestras recepimus querimoniam vestram de magistris Aurelianensibus continentes qui pro discendi licentia, ut dicitis, a vobis certam extorquere summam pecunie moliuntur, ita quod scientiam a magistris aliquis accipere non valeat nisi manum implere curaverit largitatis, unde contingit quod multociens pauperibus clericis, cum quid solvant non habeant, aditus³ scientie precludatur. Ideo nobis humiliter supplicastis ut, cum scientia gratis impendi debeat, magistros ad ipsam vobis gratis impendendam cogere dignaremur. Peticioni igitur vestre in quantum possumus annuentes vobis benigniter respondemus quod magistros ad hoc faciendum cogere non possumus nec debemus, cum a labore suo nullum aliud commodum consequantur. Secure siquidem dicere possumus quod ex ista scientia cum sit temporalis numquam temporalia petere vel recipere prohibentur. Ne

¹ MS. *Abbigenses*.

² Cf. H. Denife, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters*, I (Berlin, 1885), 721; G. Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in Italia*, I, 2 (Milan, 1914), 9-10, 22, 23, 24, 26, 44; and on the related question of fees for the license, Gaines Post, in *Haskins Anniversary Essays* (Boston, 1929), pp. 255-277.

³ MS. *aditus*.

tamen possitis contra iusticiam aggravari, vobis mandamus quatinus¹ siquis vestrum paupertatem siue aliam quamlibet rationem allegare poterit quare pecuniam a magistris impositam ipsis solvere non valeant, auctoritate nostra vel officialis nostri ab impetitione magistrorum penitus absolvantur ac ab imposita pecunia quod iustum fuerit relaxetur.

Relations between Orleans and the North of France are illustrated by the following letter concerning an assault by clerks of Arras on students of noble birth at Orleans:²

(4) (fol. 44r) *Episcopus episcopo*. G. Dei gratia Aurelianensis episcopus G. eadem gratia Atrebatensi episcopo salutem. Cum filius iniquitatem patris portare non debeat, indignum est ut aliquis suis non exigentibus meritis propter delictum alterius puniatur. Noverit vestra discretio quod quidam clerici, ut dicitur, vestre diocesis maligno ducti spiritu quosdam scolares nobilitatis genere prefulgentes scholas Aurelianenses frequentantes de nocte tanquam fures interficere minime dubitaverunt, quo facto a villa protinus decesserunt. Nunc autem amici defunctorum et socii, propter mortem ipsorum valde et merito contristati, omnes Atrebatenses clericos in tantum habent odio quod si aliquos ex ipsis alicubi valent invenire credimus quod in odium delinquentium ipsos interficere minime dubitabunt, quod etiam, ut dicitur, proptime protestantur. Cum igitur innocentes non debeant puniri sed nocentes, dilectionem vestram attentius exoramus quatinus predictos malefactores in Atrebatensi civitate, ut dicitur, commorantes, si ipsos invenire poteritis, in vestrum detruendi carcerem faciatis, ut sic noxii puniantur iustorumque sanguis innoxius sicut condecet observetur.

Grammar appears likewise as the subject of chief interest in the group of three letters inserted in fol. 5, if we may judge from the third of this fragmentary collection. In the first (no. 5) a father sends his son to a prior to be prepared for the schools of Orleans. In the second (no. 6) a clerk complains to a student of the depredations of a thieving servant whom the student had recommended. In the third (no. 7) a student who requests a master to come to Paris in order to give him instruction in grammar is put off and advised to engage Master Peter of Rheims:

(5) *Prior burgensi*. Prior burgensi salutem et suam in omni <in> perficere voluntatem. Vobis mando quatinus filium vestrum parandum ad scholas Aurelianenses senire³ [sic] ut ibi studere valeat mittere destinatis. Illi vero vestre dilectionis intuitu omnia sibi necessaria ministrabo et circa ipsius commodum in quantum potero efficaciter laborabo.

(6) *Clericus scolari*. Talis clericus tali scolari salutem et dedecus proximi pro suis viribus sepelire. Dedecus illatum proximis in obprobrium vertitur proprium. A vestra, sicut credo, non excidit memoria quomodo talem famulum consanguineum vestrum vestro consilio in meo recepti servicio, sed quomodo res postea processerit

¹ MS. ^a *q̄tinus os.*
.....

² There are also references to Arras in No. II, fols. 23, 24v. On Flemish students at Orleans in the same period, see Delisle, in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 1869, p. 141, and Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 186.

³ *Sine mora?*

forsitan penitus ignoratis. Cum enim alia die solum, sicut consueveram, dictum famulum dimissem, diabolico instinctus spiritu vestes meas furari minime dubitavit. Ideoque vobis mando¹ quatinus dampnum tale mihi competenter faciatis emendari, alioquin tanquam furem et latronem ipsum faciam, si potero, condampnari.

(7) *Magister scolari.* Magister scolari salutem et Aristotelicam induere prohibitem. Discipulus talem magistrum satagit invenire qui circa ipsius commodum velit et valeat fideliter laborare. Mihi per tuas litteras mandavisti quod Parisius personaliter accederem et secundum quod promiseram in arte grammatica te fideliter edocerem. Scias enim certissime quod tam magnis sum negociis occupatus quod promissionem meam non possum utiliter adimplere. Sed cum alium magistrum habere desideres, tibi consulo quod magistrum Petrum Remensem in doctorem accipias, qui² cum sit bonis moribus exornatus vita et sciencia commendatus circa scienciam tuam et doc[trinam . . .]³ fideliter laborabit.

II

The second formulary in chronological order, containing approximately 260 letters and memoranda of procedure on fols. 17r-35r, and probably also the 58 letters on fols. 57v-62r, is concerned with ecclesiastical procedure in the diocese of Orleans in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. It can easily be dated by the mention of Popes Honorius III (1216-27) and Gregory IX (1227-41), the bishops of Orleans M[anasses] (1207-21) and Philip (1221-31, 1234-38), G[autier], archbishop of Sens (1222-41), H[enry], archbishop of Rheims (1227-40), Franco, abbot of Micy (ca. 1219-37), Louis, king of France (1223-26, 1226-70), and I[ngeborg], formerly queen of France (d. 1236). A document of Raginaldus, dean of Orleans (fol. 27v), dated 1234, may serve as an approximate date for the collection.

It would seem, from the frequent occurrence of 'Robertus officialis Aurelianensis' and the occasional mention of the officials of Sens, Chartres, and Laon, that the collection was especially connected with the exercise of the official's jurisdiction, but it differs from the later type of official's formulary⁴ in that comparatively few of the letters are in the name of the official himself, while most emanate from the bishop and other dignitaries of the diocese and chapter of Orleans, neighboring bishops and archbishops and their subordinates, the king of France, and the Pope. For the most part, the forms are grouped by cases and modes of procedure, rather than by the authorities which issue them, and the whole seems to exemplify the various processes arising in the exercise of ecclesiastical

¹ MS. *nũlo*.

² MS. *qm*.

³ Leaf cut.

⁴ See Joseph Bry, 'Notice sur un formulaire du XIV^e siècle à l'usage de l'officialité d'Orléans,' in *Nouvelle revue historique de droit*, XXXVIII (1914), 417-460, and my 'Formularies of the Officialité of Rouen,' in *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (Paris, 1929), 359-362.

jurisdiction in this period. Thus the formulary, which shows many points of resemblance to that described by Langlois in MS. 1468 of Rouen,¹ begins with a petition to the Pope for the appointment of judges delegate:

Sanctitati vestre conqueritur G. clericus Aurelianensis diocesis de Petro eiusdem diocesis qui violentas manus in eundem inicere non expavit. Conqueritur dictus G. clericus de tali priore et de quibusdam aliis tam clericis quam laicis Aurelianensis Carnotensis Parisiensis diocesis qui super terris vineis debitis et rebus aliis iniuriantur eidem. Unde petit iudices videlicet cantorem succentorem et archidiaconum Parisienses.

Then follow the resulting bull of Gregory IX and various documents and citations in the name of these judges delegate and of the official of Orleans, illustrating the various stages of the canonical procedure. The concluding document (fol. 35r) runs in the name of 'Stephanus Montis Acuti dominus.'

For the most part, the collection is quite special and contains relatively little of general interest. Even the student letters, as befits such a collection, are concerned chiefly with legal procedure, indicating that we are passing from the literary to the legal phase of Orleanese education.² Inasmuch as the schools of Orleans are the most interesting aspect of the city's history in this period, certain of these letters are subjoined as specimens for the light they throw on student life and scholastic organization.³ The *magister scoliarum* is clearly the head of the schools, but he seems to deal with each student through his particular master. Thus in no. 10 a layman complains to the *magister scoliarum* of an assault committed by a scholar, and the complaint is referred to the scholar's master for final settlement; and in no. 11 the master takes up the case and summons the student for the following day. In nos. 8 and 9 a master receives a complaint against certain dicing and disorderly students who have broken into a woman's house and carried off her property, but demands their names before he can proceed to a formal inquiry. In no. 12 a citizen of Orleans urges his brother, a student in Paris, to return and assert his claim to a tithe in the ecclesiastical court. In no. 13 an archdeacon commands a clerk to repay a debt to a fellow clerk. In no. 14 the archdeacon of Amiens is implored to soften the heart of the brother of a student who sold his patrimony in order to study *in decretis et legibus*, evidently at Orleans. No. 15, however, comes from a French student at Bologna, who requests that money be sent him by a merchant of Bologna visiting the fairs of Lagny.⁴ In nos. 16 and 17, the

¹ *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXXIV, 2, pp. 14-18.

² There is a reference to 'sciencia litteralis' on fol. 21v. On fol. 23r an abbot asks a master of the *ars dictaminis* to send him one of his promising pupils. On fol. 28v a scribe has agreed to copy 'missale unum et graduale' for ten livres Parisia.

³ On student letters in general, see my article in the *American Historical Review*, III (1898), 203-229, revised and expanded in my *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, ch. i.

⁴ Cf. on fol. 22r the payment to be made 'apud Trecas in nundinis.'

last forms but one of the collection, Robert, the official of Orleans, is exercising jurisdiction in the case of an attack on certain students *ignorantie vultum habentes* by relatives of a Master Stephen, whose aid he obtains for arranging a quiet settlement.

(8) (fol. 20v) Dilecto suo tali magistro talis mulier salutem. In generali consilio fuisse didicimus promulgatum quod omnes clerici qui ludunt in scholis deciorum et qui per violenciam de domibus suis extrahunt mulieres excommunicationis sententiae supponantur.¹ Tales quidem scolares de nocte nostrum hostium perfrerunt et res nostras clanculo detulerunt. Cum igitur in canonem sententiae lapsi sunt, vestram imploramus discrecionem quatinus premissos scolares tanquam excommunicatos publicetis et cum debita satisfacione res nostras nobis restitui faciat.

(9) (fol. 20v) Talis magister tali mulieri salutem. Tua nobis conquestio reseravit quod quidam scolares hostium tuum per violenciam frangentes detulerunt res tuas et tibi reddere contradicunt. Verumptamen cum sicut aseris idem scolares excommunicati sunt, cum instancia postulasti quod nos ipsos tanquam excommunicatos publicemus et res tuas tibi restitui faciamus. Cum igitur dicti scolares nobis (fol. 21r) ignoti sint, tibi mandamus quatinus ipsos nominatim et expresse nobis prodas, et nos rei veritatem diligencius inquiremus et si verum est quod aseritur eos ulcione debita puniemus.

(10) (fol. 21v) H. magister scholarum Aurelianensium dilecto suo tali magistro salutem. Talis laicus nobis conquestus est quod quidam scolaris vester ipsum indebite molestavit et occasione molestacionis illius dictum laicum per tres septimanas coegit in lectum egritudinis decubare, ita quod etiam licet pauper sit et egens nihil interim² adquisivit. Unde vobis mandamus quatinus causam istam vobis assumatis et per circumspeccionem vestram iniuria facta laico sopiatur nec ad nos iterata vice super hoc questio reportetur.

(11) (fol. 21v) Talis magister tali scolari suo salutem. Ex insurracione³ magistri scholarum recepimus quendam laicum sibi fuisse conquestum quod vos eidem iniuste molestias intulistis, unde magister scholarum attentius nos hortatur quod questionem qua vertitur inter vos et dictum laicum sopiamus nec ad ipsum deferri questionem super hoc permittamus. Nos igitur mandato tanti viri parere volentes vobis mandamus quatinus die crastina coram nobis compareatis et nos auditis⁴ hinc et inde rationibus utrique parti iusticiam faciemus.

(12) (fol. 24r) Dilecto et precordiali fratri suo P. Parisiensi scolari G. Aurelianensis civis frater eius dilectissimus salutem et sincere dileccionis plenitudinem. Ad ius suum protegendum quilibet tenetur prestrui ne contingat eum de negligencia condemnari. Fraternitatem vestram latere non cognosco patrem nostrum pie memorie mihi nec non et vobis qui sumus heredes debiti in sui dissolucione corporis talem decimam assignasse. Vos autem post patris obitum ad Parisiense studium accessistis et interim possessiones vestras ad vos hereditatis iure devolutas cum dicta decima nullo reclamante diu pacifice conservavi. Talis vero clericus iam velut exci-

¹ For the many enactments on this subject, cf. Du Cange, *s. v. Decius*, and the canons of councils summarized by Miss Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (Boston and New York, 1927), appendix e.

² MS. *interim*.

³ *Insinuacione*?

⁴ MS. *audite*.

tatus a supremo super dicta decima me citatum coram nostro¹ pontifice trahens in causam proposuit domino pape mandatum fuisse laicalis sortis hominem posse nullam decimam obtinere. Super quo consilium habens apud me deliberavi vos posse clericali sorte nostram decimam a tali calumpnia liberare. Cum igitur ad suum ius conservandum debeat nullus esse negligens, fraternitatem vestram expostulo quatinus pretermissio studio patriam nostram exposcere studeatis, ut per vos nostra decima possit a tali calumpnia liberari.

(13) (fol. 25v) Archidiaconus Roberto salutem. Miramur de vobis plurimum, nam cum Iohannes clericus dilectus compatriota vester de propria sua pecunia necessitatem vestram relevaret, vos non attendentes gratiam vobis factam pecuniam commodatam non vultis, sicut dicitur, redde[re] nec eidem paribus meritis respondere. Quia vero laudabile non est aliquem ingratus² esse cum gratia sequi debeat gratiam, vobis mandamus consulimus et laudamus quatinus officium socii vestri grato respicientes affectu eidem totam pecuniam persolvatis et eiusdem indigentiam de vestro proprio cum tempus et locus fuerit sublevetis.

(14) (fol. 27r) Viro venerabili et discreto Roberto Ambianensis ecclesie archidiacono Guillelmus suus in omnibus salutem et ad sue voluntatis beneplacitum se paratum. Cum propter libros comparandos et pro scholarum (fol. 27v) frequentiam meum pridem vendiderim patrimonium, in decretis et legibus per Dei gratiam adeo sum proventus quod in brevi possem incipere. Sed frater meus quamvis sit dives tantum erga me durus est quod nullum vult mihi adiutorium impertiri. Vestram idcirco magnitudinem devotus et humilis imploro quatinus mei fratris duriciam taliter molliatis quod amore Dei motus et vinculo fraternitatis necessitatis articulo me non deficiat adiuvare.

(15) (fol. 34r) Karissimo patri suo Nicholao de tali loco Martinus filius eius Bolonie moram faciens veram in Christo salutem et continuam per Dei gratiam mentis et corporis sanitatem. Cum a vestro discesi latere Boloniam profecturus promisistis mihi, quod adhuc recolo nec vestram reliquit memoriam, quod quamdiu scolaris essem diligens vestra paternitas non deesset nec filium suum delinqueret desolatum. Cum igitur in presenti mihi gravis incumbat necessitas, vestre paternitati auxilium imploro precibus poscens humiliter quatinus per Gracianum mercatorem Bolonie satis expertum fidelitate qui nuper ad nundinas Latiniaci viam arripuit denarios ad sufficientiam si placeat transmittatis, mihi clausis scribentes litteris quanta summa pecunie dicto commissa fuerit mercatori.³

(16) (fol. 34v) Robertus officialis curie Aurelianensis dilecto suo magistro Stephano salutem et sinceram dilectionem. Ammirati sumus non modicum de quibusdam consanguineis vestris qui nuper in quosdam scholares ignorancie vultum habentes timore Dei postposito manus iniecerunt, ut dicitur, violentas. Nobis vero datum est in mandatis quod predictis scolaribus debitam satisfactionem impendi sine dilatione qualibet faciamus. Quia vero dicti manuum iniectores consanguineitatis linea ad vos coniunguntur, eisdem parcimus quantum pos[s]umus, sed quia iusticiam petentibus non possumus denegare dilectionem vestram monemus et consulimus quatinus passis iniuriam satisfieri plenarie faciatis, ita quod ipsi scolares taceant et de ipsis ad nos super hoc querimoniam non reportent.

¹ MS. repeats *nostro*.

² MS. repeats *ingratus*.

³ The father promises in reply to send by the Bolognese merchant 'sexaginta solidos stercinorum . . . infra quindenam Purificationis.' Cf. my *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 19, note 2.

(17) (fol. 34v) Officiali magister Stephanus salutem. Discrecionem vestram modis omnibus quibus possumus exoramus quatinus Stephanum et Robertum consanguineos nostros citare vel (fol. 35r) vocare parcatis donec de causa scolarium locuti fuerimus cum eisdem, et nos firmiter credimus quod parentes nostri vestram et scolarium plenarie facient voluntatem.

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS
Harvard University

SOME MEDIAEVAL SPANISH TERMS OF WRITING AND ILLUMINATION

IN view of much conjecture and speculation as to the materials used by mediaeval scribes in the preparation of those manuscripts that have been almost miraculously preserved to our times, it seems fitting to set down here, not only statements of the materials they used that have come under my observation in a thirteenth-century manuscript, but also certain few details as to the preparation and use of these materials. I have drawn all this material for this brief study from the *Lapidary of Alfonso X*, which I have elsewhere described both generally and in some detail.¹ A recent article by D. S. Blondheim² throws considerable light on this matter. He gives an English translation of a Portuguese work written in Hebrew characters that presents much detailed information on the preparation of colors for both painting and writing. The original writing of this work probably antedates that of the *Alfonsine Lapidaries*.³

There is some uncertainty as to the actual substances meant in some of the references given below, and we are unable to assign modern equivalents

¹ 'The Lapidary of Alfonso X,' *Philological Quarterly*, VIII (1929), 248-54. Joan Evans has described the Alfonsine lapidaries in "The 'Lapidary' of Alfonso the Learned," *Modern Language Review*, XIV (1919), 424-426 and in *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1922, Chap. III. Some others worthy of attention in this connection are: J. Fernández Montaña, *Lapidario del Rey D. Alfonso X*, Madrid, 1881; M. Barrington, 'The Lapidario of King Alfonso X,' *The Connoisseur*, XIV (1906), 31-36; P. de Madrazo and A. Fernández Guerra, 'Sobre la Edición Fotocromolitográfica del Códice del Lapidario, que perteneció al Rey Don Alfonso X,' *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, T. I, Cuaderno V (1879), 471-475; J. Rodríguez de Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, I, (Madrid, 1781), 103-113; M. Steinschneider, 'Arabische Lapidarien,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLV (1891), 266-270; and J. Cardoso Gonçalves, *O 'Lapidario del Rey D. Alfonso X el Sabio'*, Lisboa, 1929.

² D. S. Blondheim, 'An Old Portuguese Work on Manuscript Illumination,' *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Ser., XIX (1928-1929), 97-135; the Hebrew text is included.

³ *Idem*, p. 97f: 'A colophon at the end of the ninth opusculum in the MS. states . . . that it was finished by Abraham b. Judah ibn Hayyim at Loulé, Portugal, in 1262 . . . There is some reason to believe that the present form of the text dates from a period later than the thirteenth century, and that our MS. may have been written in Galicia.' The *Alfonsine Lapidaries* were written in the period from 1276-1279.

to many of the curious stone-names as they appear in the *Lapidary*, particularly when the manuscript states that the names are 'en caldeo,' as it does in the case of 45 of the 301 stones in the *First Lapidary*.¹ This difficulty is due to the fact that almost no effort has been made to identify any of the stones in the *Alfonsine Lapidaries*;² the problem is further complicated by the effort of the scribe to represent Greek, Chaldean, Arabic, Persian, Egyptian, and Latin sounds in Spanish. In certain identifications that I have been able to make, I have encountered such well-nigh incomprehensible changes and substitutions as: *acufaratiz* for *Χενωκράτης*, *adenhenich* for *eidhenegi*, *militaz* for *magnatim*, *zebech* for *cysaban*, *caffyuri* for *elkibori eldor*, etc.

The medicinal, magical, and other virtues attributed to the 492 Alfonsine stones are many and varied. Here and there throughout the work appear references to materials for; ink, erasures, writing, parchment, paper, painting, and book binding. These references are always brief, and it is always taken for granted that the reader will be acquainted with the stone or metal in question. I have put the stone-name at the head of each reference and grouped all the references to each writing material under an appropriate heading, listing the citations in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

INK

For clarifying yellow, green, or red ink used in writing or painting:

affricana (fol. 33d): Et si molieren della el casco que esta de fuera e es duro, en que no a humidat ninguna, e lo mezclaren con las tintas con que escriuen o pintan, esclarece las e dales bona color; pero no faz esto si no a amariella o uerde o uermeia, ca a todas las otras danna si con ellas la mezclan.

For the manufacture of good clear ink:

kinfar (fol. 48d): Et otrossi quando la muelen e la destiempran con uinagre, fazen della tinta bona e clara e luzia pora escriuir.

¹ These Chaldean stones have been briefly and rather inadequately treated by F. de Mély, 'Les Pierres Chaldéennes du Lapidaire d'Alphonse X, Roi de Castille,' *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Quatrième Série, XIX (1891), 196-201. I have corrected and enlarged upon this study by Mély in my article, 'The Chaldean Stones in the Lapidary of Alfonso X,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XLV (1930), 444-453.

² Some identifications are attempted incidentally by F. de Mély and H. Courel, 'Des Lapidaires Grecs dans la Littérature Arabe du Moyen Âge,' *Revue de Philologie de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes*, Nouvelle Série, XVII (1893). The complete dependence of these scholars on the faulty transcription of Fernández Montaña (see p. 420 note 1) occasionally leads them astray.

eraqui (fol. 88c): Et quando la muelen e la mezclan con uinagre, fazen della tinta muy buena e luzia pora escriuir.

To produce beautiful writing on parchment:

pedra negra que es en este ryo sobredicho [Jaret, *Algaret, Aliarech*] (fol. 59d): Et si con ella escriuen en pargamino, fazes fremosa letra e luzient.

ERASURES ON PARCHMENT

For erasure that will leave no trace of what has been erased:

quetmee (fol. 46d, 47a): . . . si la molieren e la mezclaren con cumo de uerdulagas e untaren con ella el pargamino que sea escripto, dessatar sa la letra del que no y parezca ninguna dellas, mas el pargamino ficara tan claro e tan limpio cuemo fue de primero. Et a esta piedra nol fallaron otra uertud si no esta.

alfeyrxu (fol. 82c): Et si echan los poluos della sobrel pargamino, rae la escriptura que a en el de guisa que no dexa y sennal . . .

WRITING

For proficiency in writing and counting:

*zauarget, prasme*¹ (fol. 97a): Et esta a tal uertud que el omne que la trae consigo es bienandant en escriuir e en contar e en labrar por pan.

PARCHMENT

For preparing parchment for writing or painting:

*cahadenyz*² (fol. 87b, c): Et es bona pora esfregar con ella los cueros que quieren fazer pargamino pora escriuir o pora pintar.

¹ This stone seems to be *zeberdjed* as described by Ibn El-Bethâr in L. Leclerc, 'Traité des Simples par Ibn El-Bethâr,' *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXV (1881), Art. 1123; *thabariat* as described by Ibn al-Dschezzar in V. Rose, 'Aristoteles de Lapidibus und Arnoldus Saxo,' *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum und Deutsche Litteratur*, XVIII (1875), 399 note; *zabarged* as described by Serapion in V. Rose, *art. cit.*, p. 399; and *seberdschad* as described by Mohammed Ben Manssur in Jos. v. Hammer, 'Auszüge aus dem persischen Werke: das Buch der Edelsteine von Mohammed Ben Manssur,' *Fundgruben des Orients*, VI (1818), 131. But according to Rose, *art. cit.*, p. 398, *zabarschad* is *beryll*. L. Leclerc, *loc. cit.*, identifies it (*zeberdjed*) as *topaze*. Our text classifies *zauarget* as *prasme* (fol. 16a). Were the names *beryll* and *prasme* confused in naming the same stone?

² Cf. *ξαυρηγής* in F. de Mély and H. Courel, *loc. cit.*

PAPER

To make paper white and smooth:

onna (fol. 38c): Et los que fazen el paper, meten della en ello por que se faze blando e mas luzient.

PAINTING

Substance used:

*uerdet*¹ (fol. 32a): . . . en la color (el *adehenich uerde*) semcia al *uerdet* con que pintan e aun en otra cosa, que si la molieren con olio de linaca, faz mas fina color que el *uerdet* e mas clara.

ferrenna, ambonencuz,² (fol. 37b): Et si despues que fuer quemada la molieren con algun oloyo, sale della tinta bona e luzient pora pintar.

For dyeing cloth and painting on wood:

armeniana,³ (fol. 56c): . . . los tintores se siruen dellas en tennir los pannos e otrossi los pintores pora pintar en madera.

For use in dyeing and painting:

ancalicez,⁴ (fol. 65a, b): De color es amariella que tira ya quanto a uerde e ayudan se della en tennir e en pintar.

For painting wood and walls a gold color:

bulufiriz (fol. 74b): Fuert es e dura de quebrantar e los pintores ayudan se della en tennir los maderos de color de oro, e en la tierra o la fallan, pintan las paredes con ella.

¹ Cf. the following in L. Leclerc, *loc. cit.*: *verdet* (Galien, Art. 73); *zendjar, verdet, kustos, racle* (Ibn El-Belthâr and Dioscorides, Art. 1131); *zahrat, en-nohas* (Ibn El-Belthâr, Art. 1134 bis). Also the following *apud* V. Rose, *loc. cit.*: *ziniar, viride eris* (Serapion, p. 422); *viride eris, ziniar* (Ibnegizar, p. 422).

² Cf. *marcasita de ferro*, Algafiki (*apud* V. Rose, *loc. cit.*, p. 413); *marquachita (de fer)*, 'Le Livre des Pierres' (*apud* L. Leclerc, *loc. cit.*, Art. 2116); and *eissenmarkessit*, Mohammed Ben Manssur (in Jos. v. Hammer, *loc. cit.*, p. 141).

³ Cf. *armeniana, harminica* in F. de Mély, 'Les Cachets d'Oculistes et les Lapidaires de l'Antiquité et du Haut Moyen Âge,' *Revue de Philologie de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes, Nouvelle Série*, XVI (1892); *pedra llamada armenia*, Dioscorides (*apud* Pedro del Marmol, *Pedacio Dioscorides Materia Medicinal*, p. 538, Salamanca, 1566); and *κωαβς* in F. de Mély and H. Courel, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. *lapis qui trahit fecem*, Arnoldus Saxo (in V. Rose, *loc. cit.*, p. 426).

For painting carmine on wood and gold on silver:

*queyebyz, azul arambrenno*¹ (fols. 82d, 83a): Et quando la quebrantan, fallan la dentro de color cardena buelta con amariello e por esso tinnen con ella los maderos de color cardena, mas pero no es tan bona tintura como la del otro azul . . . Et tinne la plata otrossi en color doro, mas con todeso no es cosa que dure mucho.

BOOK BINDING

For glue in covering books:

sanguina,² (fol. 38d): Et si molieren esta piedra e la mezclaren con agua, faze se ende engludo muy fuerte. Et obran dello en tierra de Promission los que cubren los libros . . .

¹ This stone resembles *armeniana* above.

² Cf. *piedra sanguna*, fol. 5b.

J. HORACE NUNEMAKER
State College of Washington
Pullman, Washington

THE WELSH TEXTS OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S *HISTORIA*

THE recent publication of Mr Acton Griscom's edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* containing a translation of one of the Welsh texts, and a discussion of the relationships between the Welsh and the Latin versions has called attention again to the particular complexity of the problem. As Dr J. Gwenogvryn Evans pointed out when he edited the text of the *Historia* as found in the *Red Book of Hergest*, and again and again when he was working on his *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, the different Welsh texts differ so widely that we seem to be justified in speaking of a number of different versions. But even between manuscripts that he classifies as belonging to the same version the differences are, as he admits, so great as to render any real collation practically impossible, and the further we go in the texts the greater these differences become. Evans made no attempt to explain these facts, his task at that time being merely to catalogue the various manuscripts and record what he found, but the presence of the variations has been used by Mr Griscom and others as a starting point for arguments of one kind or another.

Since in many of the manuscripts the text of Geoffrey has prefixed to it a Welsh translation of the *Historia* of Dares Phrygius it occurred to me that this might be used as a control, because here the possibility that the

Welsh had preserved material not in the Latin version could hardly be considered. So far as I am able to discover from the material available to me¹ the texts of Dares differ from each other and from the Latin in the same way as do the texts of Geoffrey. Professor John Edward Lloyd declares the same thing true with regard to the *Brut y Tywysogion* which is found in many manuscripts as a continuation of Geoffrey's history,² and Dr Mary Williams has called attention to something very similar in the case of the text of *Peredur*.³ Whatever may be the cause of this state of things it is certainly not peculiar to the text of Geoffrey.

Aside from purely orthographical variations, which are innumerable, the variants in the text of Geoffrey are of three kinds. Sometimes one text will omit material contained in others and in the Latin. These omissions may be of only a word or a phrase or they may be of considerable extent; for example the whole of Merlin's prophecies are wanting in some manuscripts. On the other hand a text will sometimes contain material not to be found in the others or in the Latin. Usually this is merely an amplification of an idea that is in the Latin, but occasionally it is more than this. Some texts contain a rather extensive 'Prophecy of the Eagle' and others have the whole of the 'Meeting of Ludd and Llevelys' which is also found elsewhere and is best known for its inclusion in Lady Guest's *Mabinogion*. Far more common than either of these types of variation are the cases where several of the manuscripts say practically the same thing but in wholly different words. For example Geoffrey's '*in hec verba*' introducing the letter in I, iv, is variously rendered '*yn yr ymadrawd hwn*,' '*yn y mod hwnn*,' '*ar amadrawd hwnn endav*,' '*ar amadrawd hwn yndunt*,' '*a llyma mod y llythyr*,' and '*a llyma ystyr y llythyr*,' to mention only the major variants. It would be difficult to say that any one of these readings (except possibly the fourth) was derived

¹ The text of the *Red Book* is printed in the *Red Book Bruts*; British Museum MS. *Addit. 15,042*, a modern transcript of a *Panton* manuscript that I have not been able to identify, is printed in Volume II of *Y Brython*, and brief selections from others are given in the *Evans Report*. Peter Roberts prints in *Chronicle of the Kings of Britain* (London, 1811) a translation of the text as found in the *Book of Basingwerk*.

² He notices 'how again and again identity of substance has gone with great variety of phrase,' and explains this by the assumption that the different manuscripts represent distinct translations from a Latin original now lost. *The Welsh Chronicles, The Sir John Rhys Memorial Inaugural Lecture delivered before the British Academy, 1928* (London: Millford, [1929?]), p. 12.

³ She writes 'Nous sommes disposé à voir dans Peniarth 7 l'œuvre d'un copiste qui possédait seulement des notes d'un manuscrit qu'il a complétées lui-même. Cela nous paraît le seul moyen d'expliquer pourquoi Peniarth 7, tout en ressemblant beaucoup à Peniarth 4, en est cependant à d'autres points de vue si différent. Les deux manuscrits se correspondent, en effet, presque toujours quant au sens des épisodes—bien que l'ordre en soit quelquefois changé—mais très rarement quant aux mots et à la forme.' *Essai sur la composition du roman gallois de Peredur* (Paris: Champion, 1909), p. 34.

from any other, and yet every one of them represents Geoffrey's Latin, and the one that departs furthest from it—the last—says no more than 'and this is the import of the letter.'

The relationships of the different texts—which apparently do not remain constant—cannot be adequately illustrated except by a complete collation of all the manuscripts, but some idea of the nature of the problems involved may be gained from examination of a single paragraph from eleven MSS. For this purpose I have selected a passage which seems to exhibit about the average amount of variation and which contains both Celtic and non-Celtic material.

1. CAMBRIDGE MS. 1706.¹ *Ca.* 1136.

Huic successit leil filius suus. pacis amator & equitatis. Qui ut prosperitate regni usus est urbem in aquilonari parte brittannie edificavit de nomine suo kaerleil uocatam. Tunc solomon cepit edificare templum domino in ierusalem & regina saba uenit audire sapientiam eius. & tunc siluius epitus pater [patri?] albe in regnum successit. Vixit leil deinde post suptum [sumptum] regnum .xxv. annis. set regnum in fine debiliter rexit. Quocirca segnitia eius insistente ciuilis discordia subito in regno orta est.

2. DINGESTOW COURT MS.² Early 13th Century.

Ac yn ol y deuth lleon y uab ynteu gwr a garvs hedvch uu hvnnv. A guedy gwelet o honav y gyuoeth yn tagueuedus yd adeilvs dinas yg gogled yr enys hon ac y gelwis oe enw e hun caer leon. Ac yn diwed y oes y llesgvs. Ar amser hvnnv y dechreuis selyf uab dauit adeilat temhyl yg kaerusalem. Ac y doeth brenhynes sabba y warandav y doethineb. Ac aeth siluius epitus yn vrenhyn yn yr eidal yn lle y tat. Ac yna ual y dywetpvyt uchof wedy llesgu leon. y kyuodes teruysc y rvng y kywdavdwyer e hun.

3. PENIARTH MS. 44.³ First half of the 13th Century.

Ac en y ol entev e bv lleon y vap entev en vrenyn. Gwr wu hvnnv a karey yavn gwrynyon a hedvch. Ar lleon hvnnv gwedy rwydhav llywodraeth e eteyrnas kanthav. a adeylvs en e parth ar gogled enys prydeyn. dynas a elwyr kaer leon. Ac en er amser hvnnv e dechrewys selyf vap davyd adeylat temyl yr arglwyd eg kaervssalem. ac e doeth brenhynes e dehev y warandav doethynep selyf. Ac e doeth epytvs en ol y tat en vrenyn en er eydal. Pym mlyned ar rvgeyn e bv leon en vrenyn. ac eyssyoes en dywed y oes llesc wu a ryvel a thervysc er rvng e kyvdavt wyr e hvn a wu.

4. LLANSTEPHAN MS. 1.⁴ Second quarter of the 13th Century.

Ac en ol brvtvs taryan glas e devth lleon y vap entev gwr oed hvnnv a karey hedvch. Ac gwedy gwelet ohonav y kyuoeth en llwydav ac en hedychv pob peth

¹ Acton Griscom, *Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae*, (New York: Longmans, Green, 1929) pp. 260-261.

² P. 28, from rotographs. In these texts I have printed the Welsh *V* with one limb extended as *v* (it designates sometimes *v* and sometimes *w*) and have ignored the two forms of the *r* and *s*. To make comparison easier I have, so far as possible, divided the words in the modern way.

³ P. 22 of MS.

⁴ Pp. 31-32 of MS. The part in parentheses has been added at the top of the page.

wrth y kyghor ef a adeylavd dynas eg gogledd er enys honn ac ae gelwys oe enw e hvn kaer leon. (Ac en er amser hwnnw ed adeylvs selyf temhyl yr arglwyd eg kaervsalem ac e devth bren [hynes] saba y warandav y doethynep ef. Ac e devth syllyvvs epytvs en lle y tat en vrenyn en er eydal.) Ac en dywed y oes eyssyoes llesev a gwnaeth. A phym mlyned ar rvgeynt e bv en gwledychv. Ac oy lesked ef ar dywed y oes e kyvodes kywdavdavl tervysc en e teyrnas.

5. HAVOD MS. 1.¹ First half of the 14th Century.

Ac yn ol brutus y doeth llyon y vab ynteu. Gwr a garwys hedwch uu hwnnw. A gwedy gwelet o honav y gyuoeth yn tagnouedus. sef a adeilwys dinas y gogledd yr ynys. Ac ae gelwys oe enw e hun kaer leon. Ac yn diwed y oes y llescwys. Ac yn yr amser hwnnw y dechreuwys Selyf wab dauyd adeilaw temyl yg kaerusalem. Ac y doeth brenhines sabba y warandav doethineb selyf. Ac y doeth siluius epitus yn vrenhin yn lle y tat yn yr eidal. Ac yna val y dywespwyt uhot. gwedy llescu leon. y kyvodes teruysc y rwg y kiwtawtwyr e hun.

6. RED BOOK OF HERGEST.² 1375-1380.

Ac yn ol brutus y deuth leon y vab ynteu. Gwr a garwys hedwch vu hwnnw. A gwedy gwelet o honav y gyuoeth yn dagnouedus ef a adeilwys dinas yg gogledd yr ynys. Ac ae gelwys oe enw e hun kaer leon. Ac yn diwed y oes y llesgwys. Ar amser hwnnw y derchis selyf ap dauyd adeilat temyl yg kaerusalem. Ac y deuth brenhines saba y warandav y doethineb. Ac y deuth siluius epitus yn lle y dat yn vrenhin Ac yna val y dyvespwyt uhot. gwedy llesgu leon y kyvodes teruysc y rug y kiwtawtwyr e hunein. . . .

7. THE BOOK OF BASINGWERK.³ This part 14th Century (?).

Ac yn ol brutus darian las y kymyrth leon i vab lywodraeth y dyrnas. ac ai gwledychawd yn hir o amser yn hedwch dangnuedus ac ef a wnaeth dinas yngogledd yr ynys. ac ae gelwys oe henw e hvn yn Caer leon ar henw hwnnw a drigawd ar y dinas o hynny allann ac wedi llithraw talym oe amser y syrthiawd gorthrwm haint arnaw. hyt na allei na marchogaeth na cherdet Ac yna y kyvodes kiwdawdawl deruysc yn y dyrnas oe lesged ef hyt yn diwed i oes. Ac yn yr amser hwnnw ydoed Selyf ap dauyd yn edeilat temyl grist ynghaeruselem ac y doeth Sibilla vrenhines saba i wrandaw ar doethineb Selyf ac wedy gwledychu o leon pmp mlyned ar hugeot y bu uarw ac yr oed hynny yn M^o.CCC^o. lxxv gwedi diliw.

8. BRITISH MUSEUM, MS. COTTON CLEOPATRA B V⁴. 14th Century.

A gwedi brutus y kymyrth leon y vab llywodraeth yr ynys ac ay gwledychawt yn hir o amseroed yn hedwch dagnauedus, ac ef a wnaeth dinas yngogledd yr ynys, ac ay gelwys oy enw e hun caer leon, ar henw hwnnw a drigawd ar y dinas yr hynny hyt hedwi. A gwedy llithraw talym o amser y ssyrthawt gorthrwm heint arnaw hyt na allei na marchogaeth na cherdet, ac yna y kyvodes kiwdaudawl deruysc yn y deyrnas oy lesged ef hyt yn diwet y oes. Ac yn yr amser hwnnw yd oed Selyf vab dauyd yn adeiliat temyl crist ynghaerusalem, ac y doeth sibilla brenhines saba y warandav ar doethineb selyf. A gwedy gwledychu o leon pmp mlynet ar ugeint y bu varw, sef oed hynny, M.CCC.LXXVI. annus gwedy diliw.

¹ *Myyrrian Archaeology*, p. 561, note 147, text B.

² *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1890), p. 63.

³ P. 59 of MS.

⁴ *The Cambrian Register*, II (1796, published 1799), 32-33.

9. PANTON MS. 9 (XVIII Cent);¹ this part 'in verbal agreement' with *Havod 2*, 15th Century.

Ac yn ol Brutus Taryan las y deuth Lleon y vap ynteu. Gwr oed hwnv a karey kedvch. ac gwedy gwelet o honav y kyvoeth yn llwydav ac yn hedychu pop peth wrth y gyghor ef a adeylavd dynas yg gogledd yr ynys hon ac ae gelwys oe enw e hun Kaer Lleon ac yn amser hwnv yd adeylvs Selyf themyl yr Arglwyd yg Kaerusalem ac y deuth brenhynes Sabba y warandav y doethynep ef. ac y deuth Sylvyus ypytus yn lle y tat yn vrenyn yn yr Eydal. ac yn dywedd y oes llescu a wnaeth. a phum mlyned ar rugeynt e bu yn gwledychu. Ac oy lesket ef ar dywed y oes y kyvodes ef kytvradavl tervysc yn y teyrnas.

10. BRUT TYSILIO.² 16th Century?

Ac ar y ol y bu Leon gavr y vab ynte a gvr da vy hwnv yn vrenin yn cynnal gvrioned a chyfiavnder. Ar Lleon hwnv a rvydhavys lyvodraet y dyrnas ac adailivys yn y part drav yr gogledd o ynys Brydain dinas a elwir Caer Leon. ar amser hwnv ydoed Selyv ap Dafyd yn adailiat temyl Iessu Grist yngharissalym. Ac yna y dayth Brenhines y dehau y vrande doethineb Selyv. ac velly pymlyned ar hygaint y by Leon yn gvledychu yn vrenin. Ac ynived y oes llesc vy ev ac am hyny y codes tervysc yn yr dyrnas a ryfel ryngtynt y hun.

11. ADDIT. MS. 14,903.³ A composite text made from five old MSS in the first quarter of the 16th Century.

Ac in ol brutus i daeth lleon i vap enteu. ac en ir amser hwnv ed adeilws seliv temil ir arglwid eg kaerusalem ac i daeth Silivius Epitus in lle i dat in vrenin in ir Eidal. Gwr oed lleon a garai hedwch. a gwedi gwelet ohonaw i givoeth in llwidac ac in hedichu pob peth. wrth i gyghor ef a adeilawd dinas egogledd ir enis hon ac i gelwis oe enw e hun. kaer lleon. Ac in diwed i oes eisoes llescu a gwnaeth. A phum mlined ar ugeint i bu en gwledichu. Ac oe lesged ev ar diwed i oes e kivotes ciwtawtawl tervise in i deirnas.

Among these texts there is a certain agreement, not always as close as in this passage, between the *Dingestow Court*, *Havod 1*, and the *Red Book* versions; others which, judging from Evans's descriptions, seem to agree more or less closely with these are *Peniarth 45*, *Peniarth 46*, *Peniarth 22*, *Mostyn 116*, *Mostyn 117*, and *B. M. Addit. 19, 709*. So far as I can judge from Evans's accounts and from examination of the first three of the texts a real collation is not feasible, although it may prove possible to reconstruct substantially the text which lies behind them. Next in age we have two very different versions represented by *Peniarth 44* (including the fragment now separated from it) and *Llanstephan 1*, with its missing parts perhaps preserved in the late *Peniarth 265*. The wording throughout differs radically from that of the *Dingestow Court* manuscript, and though they differ as

¹ *Myvyrian Archaeology*, p. 485, col. 1.

² Printed in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, pp. 440-441 from the copy (*Jesus MS. XXVIII*) of *Jesus MS. LXI* made by Hugh Jones in 1695.

³ *Myvyrian Archaeology*, p. 561, note 147, text A; but the spelling does not follow that of the MS.

much from each other, in substance they are in rather close agreement and represent the substance of Geoffrey's Latin. *Peniarth 21* which, according to Evans, contains a text that 'does not agree verbally with that in any other MS. that is older' may represent a third version. Next come *Cotton Cleopatra BV* and the *Book of Basingwerk* which are in close, but not always verbal, agreement with each other but differ widely from all the earlier versions. They contain an attempt at a chronology and considerable other material not in Geoffrey.¹ The still later version commonly called the *Brut Tysilio*, the text of which can hardly be pushed back of the end of the fifteenth century, is again radically different from all the others. Because it is the only one of the versions translated entire in English it has acquired an importance far beyond its real worth. It appears to be nothing more than a free rendering of the Latin with the addition of a small amount of unimportant material and a version of the Lludd and Llevelys story.²

I believe that the best way to account for the state of affairs existing here is to assume that in many cases, perhaps in most, the text was not preserved in writing but was committed to memory and was written down only when some one desired a copy. Welsh story-tellers seem to have looked upon the words of a prose passage as comparatively unimportant and to have memorized the thought rather than the exact phraseology. As Professor Jones says in another connection, 'the prose portion of the narrative may have differed to some extent from time to time, even as related by the same person, thus never attaining an absolutely fixed form.'³ This is apparently exactly what happened to the *Historia* as soon as it was translated into Welsh.

This theory accounts, too, for the many passages which are omitted from so many of the MSS. It is quite frequent for a Welsh text to lack large sections of Merlin's Prophecies or even to omit them completely. We can hardly assume that this was because such material would not interest a Welsh audience; the presence of this same material in so many manuscripts out of its context proves quite the contrary. It would, however, be very difficult to memorize and would be the first part to be forgotten. So, too, a man might be expected to have a more hazy recollection of the last part of

¹ On pages 59-62 of the *Book of Basingwerk* we find inserted the prophecy of the eagle (II, ix), on pages 90-93 the Lludd and Llevelys story, and on pages 101-102 a chronology of affairs in Palestine and Rome in the time of Christ.

² There are a number of still later versions which are admittedly compilations and so do not require consideration here, although they ought to be examined. Apparently there are also Latin copies that vary in the same way that the Welsh do. See Evans, *Report*, II, 844.

³ T. Gwynn Jones, 'Some Arthurian Material in Keltic,' *Aberystwyth Studies*, VIII (1926), 89. He adds, 'This is fully illustrated in the case of a very original Welsh raconteur of the present day, whose art is largely traditional, known to the writer. His stories show continual variation.'

a long work like the *Historia* than he did of the first, and we do find that the variations are greater in the latter part than in the earlier. Many of the texts lack a long section at the end and while this is sometimes due to an injury to the manuscript it may at other times be due to a defective memory on the part of the scribe.

On the other hand the narrator naturally had his mind stored with other stories which were also part of his stock in trade. Most of them probably knew, for example, the story of *The Meeting of Lludd and Llevelys* which Lady Guest included in her *Mabinogion*. What more natural than for one to insert it into his tale when he came to the part of the *Historia* that told of Lludd? When he came to Geoffrey's reference to the eagle which prophesied at Scephthonia it would not be difficult for him to introduce some later prophetic material.¹

There is no reason why a text as extensive as that of the *Historia* could not have been transmitted orally, although at first sight the idea may seem extravagant to us. The Celtic story-tellers were trained to do exactly this sort of thing, and seem to have taken pride in being able to do it. We do not have as complete information about the training of the Welsh *cyfarwydd* as we do about the Irish *fili*—who to secure the degree of *ollam* had to spend twelve years in training and know by heart three hundred and fifty stories—but it was probably very similar. The *Dream of Rhonabwy*, which as we have it must be more recent than Geoffrey, seems to have been composed as a test piece to show whether a man could carry in his memory a difficult tale and reproduce it with verbal fidelity. How much later than this the practice of reproducing such material from memory persisted I do not know—to a certain degree it is still kept up as has been shown above—, but it certainly was the custom long enough to have influenced the text of the Welsh versions of the *Historia* and there seems to be plenty of evidence to show that it did.

It follows then that any attempt to base an argument on the text of any particular version of the Welsh must necessarily prove futile. Wherever any two or more texts agree it will usually be found that they do so because they agree with the Latin; when they depart from this each text usually goes its own way² and the later the version the further removed it is from the Latin, both in subject-matter and in the spelling of Latin proper names. That these later texts may contain Celtic material not in the

¹ The *Book of Basingwerk*—*Cotton Cleopatra BV* version which contains this gives the impression of being a conscious, 'scholarly,' compilation, but this does not preclude the possibility that the text had passed through a period of oral transmission before it fell into the hands of the redactor.

² The texts in *Cotton Cleopatra BV* and the *Book of Basingwerk* are somewhat of an exception; there is clearly some relationship between them but I am not yet certain what it is. Lloyd (*op. cit.*, p. 25) believes the second is a copy of the first.

earlier ones is undeniable, but this comes in almost certainly from floating tradition not from old manuscripts and so is subject to all the inaccuracies of oral tradition.¹ We therefore find ourselves driven back to Geoffrey's Latin version as the one most likely to have preserved ancient material, and although our study of the later versions proves nothing concerning the existence or non-existence of that famous *britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum*, it may at least raise the question whether if Geoffrey did have as his source a definite Celtic story he found it in manuscript or only in the well-stored mind of some Welsh or Breton teller of tales.

JOHN J. PARRY,
University of Illinois

¹ The statement of two texts (7 and 8) in the passage cited above (p. 427) that Leon's illness was so severe 'that he could neither ride nor walk' probably no more reflects actual historical fact than does the other in the same texts that Solomon built 'the temple of Christ in Jerusalem,' or, as the *Brut Tysilio* has it, 'the temple of Jesus Christ.'

EIN UNVERÖFFENTLICHTES LATEINISCHES LIEBESLIED

DIE lateinische Liebeslyrik des Mittelalters führte kein freies und stolzes Dasein. Die Verfasser legten meist keinen Wert darauf, sich zu diesen von ihnen selbst als Seitensprünge empfundenen Kindern einer vergessenen Stunde (die darum desto hemmungsloser ausfiel) zu bekennen. Ihre glatte Sprache, ihre gewandte Metrik, ihre Technik im Musikalischen hatten sie sich auf frommeren Gefilden (beim lateinischen Conductus) erworben. Handschriftlich sind die lateinischen Liebeslieder durchweg in Verbindung mit geistlicher Lyrik, die formal und musikalisch dieselben Züge trägt, erhalten. Träger dieser weltlichen Lyrik, d. h. Dichter, Sänger und Verbreiter waren wohl meist die Clericuli, sei es, dass sie unter strenger Zucht des Cantors und seiner Helfer an Kloster- und Domschulen Kirchenmusik betrieben und gleichzeitig ihre theologische Vorbildung erhielten, sei es, dass sie als fahrende Scholaren über Land zogen und kundige Standespersonen gegen ein Entgelt durch ihre Darbietungen erfreuten. Später, wenn sie älter wurden, mochten diese Jugendsünden in ihnen peinliche Gefühle erwecken. Veranstalteten sie selbst Sammlungen ihrer schriftstellerischen Produkte, so nahmen sie wohl selbst eine (für uns sehr bedauerliche) Säuberung vor. So kommt es, dass uns beispielsweise von der Jugendlyrik Abälards, mag sie nun französisch oder lateinisch gedichtet sein, leider keine Spur erhalten ist. Nebenbei bemerkt war ich eine Weile versucht, bei dem Akrostichon *PETRI*, das wohl den Verfasser von Nr. 7 der Arundelsammlung (Ausg. W. Meyer-Speyer, 1908, S. 18) und der andern, nach Inhalt und Stil dem gleichen Verfasser zuzuschreibenden Lieder dieser Sammlung verrät, an den grossen Philosophen und seine

Heloise zu denken; doch die fortschrittliche Metrik der Lieder verbietet dies.

Es ist mit Sicherheit anzunehmen, dass das Verhältnis der tatsächlichen Produktion zu dem Ueberlieferten bei der weltlichen Lyrik des lateinischen Mittelalters ein ganz anderes, wesentlich ungünstigeres ist als bei der geistlichen. In den nicht ganz seltenen Fällen, in denen weltliche Stücke in geistliche Sammlungen ganz isoliert eingesprengt erhalten sind, kann man über den Grund der Aufnahme verschiedener Ansicht sein. Vielleicht duldeten zuweilen die Auftraggeber, wie z.B. bei den verhältnismässig harmlosen weltlichen Gedichten des Notre Dame-Repertoires, dass beliebte Melodien, und mit ihnen nebenbei auch die Texte in hochernste und hochoffizielle Sammlungen aufgenommen wurden.

Anders steht es mit einigen Texten, die in den Handschriften des älteren Martial-Repertoires zwischen religiöser Musik aufgezeichnet sind. Hier möchte man eher annehmen, dass die Schreiber (meistens sind mehrere Hände zu konstatieren) infolge mangelnder oder nachlässiger Aufsicht es unternahmen, zwischen Liedern zum Lobpreise der Jungfrau Maria Stücke einzuschieben, die sich mit sehr unfrommen Dingen befassten.

Eine Uebersicht über sämtliche in Martialhandschriften erhaltene weltliche Lyrik werden meine demnächst erscheinenden Martialstudien bringen. Den Lesern des *Speculum* möchte ich hier als besonderen, freilich recht scharf gewürzten Leckerbissen das interessanteste der unedierte Stücke vorsetzen. Den Inhalt bilden die Vorwürfe eines offenbar recht jungen Liebhabers gegen seine noch jüngere Freundin; die Angabe 'septennis' freilich erscheint selbst für südliche Verhältnisse etwas auffallend. Interessant ist die Umgebung des Liedes in der (einzigen) Handschrift Paris *BN. lat. 3719*, fol. 38v. Auf fol. 35v steht ein in freier Sequenzen-(Lai) form gedichtetes Marienlied '*Virginis in gremio*,' das Drevès in Bd. XXI (S. 187) nach einer andern Martialhandschrift (Paris *BN. lat. 3549*, fol. 167v) veröffentlicht hat. Dann folgt ein auch in *Oxf. Bodl. Add. A 44*, fol. 71, erhaltenes Liebeslied in Sequenzenbau, mit dem ganz ähnlichen Anfang '*De terre gremio*,' gedruckt, nicht ganz fehlerlos, von Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du Moyen-Age*, S. 232. Hierauf folgt unser Lied, '*Ex ungue primo teneram*' (fol. 37v), und darauf wieder ein Marienlied '*Uterus hodie*' (fol. 38v), gedruckt *Anal. 20*, Nr. 112, ein Strophenlied mit einstimmiger Melodie zur ersten Strophe; melodisch ist dieses Lied, nebenbei bemerkt, interessant als sehr früher Anwendungsfall des sogenannten Kanzenbaues: *A B A B C D/E*.

Vom formalen Standpunkt aus betrachtet, ist das folgende Lied eine Sequenz mit zwei Doppelversikeln und einem Schlussteil, welcher zwar eine weiter fortschreitende metrische Repetition in kleinsten Teilen aufweist, der aber in der (einstimmigen) Melodie keine Gleichheit der Parallel-

glieder, wie sie in den ersten Doppelpersikeln vorhanden ist, entspricht; wir haben diesen musikalischen Bau (*A A B B C*) durch die Anordnung des Abdruckes ersichtlich gemacht.

I

1.
 Ex ungue primo teneram
 Nutrieram,
 Ut te, Lice,
 Prima vice
 Etatem circa puberem
 Exigerem
 Et caperem
 Primicias pudoris.

2.
 Fovisti viros gremio
 Propicio;
 Jamjam vivis
 Cum lascivis.
 Septennis aduc fueras:
 Te reseras
 Ad miseras
 Illecebras amoris.

II

3.
 Me meo memini
 Scripsisse legem virgini,
 Pro foribus astaret,
 Ne molestum virgini
 Profundius intraret.

4.
 Audax virguncula
 Majora multo jacula
 Suscipere decrevit;
 Votum licet parvula
 Feminum explevit.

III. (5).

Pubertatem
 Per etatem
 Dum stultior
 Operior,
 Lice, Lice,
 Lice, sexu ducta femineo
 Virum viro nosti et doleo.
 Doleo, doleo, doleo, doleo, doleo.

HANS SPANKE
 Duisburg

REVIEWS

MARGARET ARMOUR, trans., *Gudrun*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1929. Cloth. Pp. xi+215. \$2.75.

MISS ARMOUR, who has already established her competence in Middle High German by her prose translation of the *Nibelungenlied*, has performed a similar service for the general reader and the younger student interested in Germanic legend by a prose rendering of the *Gudrun*. Since it may be assumed that the chief usefulness of such a translation lies in its availability for general academic courses in literary history for which a knowledge of early Germanic dialects is not presupposed, it is regrettable that Miss Armour did not extend her brief and, in the main, unsatisfactory introduction to give some idea of the significance of this poem in the complex of heroic tradition. At the same time, it appears open to question whether even a fairly literal prose rendering like Miss Armour's succeeds in reproducing in an appreciable degree the flavor of the original; her translation reads, indeed, rather more like a fairly dull prose saga, with momentary lapses into trivialities of expression which do not necessarily represent in every case corresponding weaknesses of the Middle High German text.

Occasional omissions for no apparent reason may also be noted, e.g., 30⁴, 'des ich hie künde nie gewan' and 151⁴, 'dâ muoste ein starkez dringen von sinen friunden geschehen.' Minor inaccuracies of translation occur with some frequency, e.g.: 'that he might the better prevail' for 'daz er's diu baz möhte geniezen' (3⁴), which signifies 'that he might the better profit by it.' 'Twanging' and 'whistling' are hardly a correct rendering of 'rotten' and 'phffen' (49³⁻⁴), which simply mean 'playing the zither and fife.' 'Wes mohte er do geniezen' (92³) means 'what good did his shooting do him,' rather than 'how could he then escape.' Similarly, 'er râmte swes er gerte' (97⁴) signifies 'he aimed at whatever he desired' instead of 'he hit whatever he aimed at.' 'Den ellenden frouwen den tet ir arebeit vil wê' (108⁴) would seem to be rendered more properly by 'the homeless maidens suffered sore from their distress' than by '. . . were weary from their journey.' Why not reproduce 'wie wênic er des liez des sie an in gerten' (174³⁻³) by 'their every wish was fulfilled' rather than by the highly prosaic 'all that they needed was done for them,' which is still less emphatic? Similar examples could, in fact, be considerably multiplied to indicate that this ostensibly close translation is occasionally deficient in exactness.

These observations are recorded by no means with a view to depreciating the obvious general utility of Miss Armour's translation. On the other hand, it would seem that a rendering of a mediaeval work of classic nature intended for the hands of non-specialist readers should possess a more striking

artistic appeal to attain its maximum effect. Translators of Middle High German verse (and, for that matter, of Middle English as well), unless desirous of providing an absolutely literal version, might be well-advised in sacrificing some degree of literalness to a perfection of form which would be fundamentally closer to the original than any painstakingly accurate and correspondingly dull translation of which the literary merit is perforce restricted.

SAMUEL H. CROSS,
Harvard University

A. V. BILLEN, *The Old Latin texts of the Heptateuch*. Cambridge University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii, 234. 15 shillings.

THE Cambridge University Press deserve the thanks of all Biblical students and scholars for their readiness to publish works such as the above, which, owing to their limited appeal can hardly ever be remunerative, even if their sale is sufficiently large to cover working expenses. Dr Billen's work lies in a field in which very little has been done previously and in which there is ample scope for future investigators. The logical, orderly, and coherent method pursued by him will furnish a model for those who may be led to work in the same field. The manuscripts with which he deals are the Lyons Pentateuch and the fragmentary palimpsests of Munich and Würzburg, all belonging to the fifth or sixth centuries but representing texts current previous to the Vulgate. All are incomplete and only about one hundred verses are common to all three. These documents are submitted to a rigorous and exhaustive linguistic examination in order to elicit their salient characteristics. Dr Billen draws certain very definite conclusions which he supports by equally cogent evidence. Following the categories already broadly laid down by Sanday and Hort, he shows which parts of each are 'European' and which 'African' and gives copious instances of words characteristic of each group. According to Dr Billen, the Lyon and Würzburg MSS are European but of different types, while the Munich palimpsest is partly African and partly European. Much of the evidence naturally depends on an exhaustive study of phrases or single words, and it is in this department that Dr Billen is most convincing. Pages 185 to 222 consisting of noteworthy words constitute a fine piece of patient research, and will be of incalculable service to future investigators. Some of the words treated in this section and in the chapter on Vocabulary are of great interest, e.g. the use of '*quoad*' for '*donec*' (which is paralleled in English by the Yorkshire use of 'while' for 'until'); the intrusive '*t*' in '*Istrahel*'; the use of '*iste*' for '*hic*'; the occurrence of such future forms as '*deleam*' '*periet*' '*transiet*', etc. for the classical forms in '*ibit*'; the use of '*quanta*' for '*quacunque*,' and so on.

Dr Billen's acquaintance with the more important Latin Fathers and with

such well-known sources as the *Regula* of Tyconius is pretty evident, and he uses quotations from them to check and extend results reached elsewhere on other grounds. Such pre-Jerome quotations are of absorbing interest to the investigator and, in the opinion of that eminent Patristic authority Dr A. Souter, deserve greater attention than they have hitherto received at the hands of scholars, for they are capable of yielding important results. To compare and contrast the Biblical quotations used by such writers with Jerome's text is an interesting and illuminating task, for the results are often startling in their theological implications. Here it may be remarked that the same verse often appears in the same writer with slight but important variations, a fact which may be due either (a) to too great reliance on memory, or (b) to carelessness (for the maxim 'verify your quotations' is a modern idea) or (c) to the existence of more than one version in religious circles at the time.

It seems rather ungracious to call attention to two small misprints in a work which is refreshingly free from such flaws, but I note 'Pual' for 'Dual' on p. 95 and 'meum' for 'meam' in the Ambrose quotation in *Ps.*, xliii ('*protegam manum meum super te*'). Again on p. 61, 'Dam' is a misprint for 'Dem,' the reference being to Pelagius' long letter to Demetrias, giving her spiritual advice—in 27 chapters! Some mention should have been made of Dr Souter's work on the *Heptateuch* used by Pelagius, as well as of his well-known work on the earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St Paul, which contains the most exhaustive analyses we have of writers like St Augustine, Ambrosiaster, Jerome and Marcus Victorinus.

The printing and format of the book are such as we expect in this series and leave nothing to be desired. It is a work which should be in the hands of all those who are interested in Patristics.

AUSTIN H. BIRCH,
'Larkfield' Secondary School,
Chepstow, (Mon.)

J. M. BISSEN, O. F. M., *L'Exemplarisme Divin selon Saint Bonaventura* (Études de Philosophie Médiévale, IX). Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1929. Paper. Pages 304.

THIS work was originally submitted to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Freiburg in Switzerland as a doctor's dissertation. No substantial changes have been made in its present form, but some important additions have been embodied in the chapter on the history of exemplarism in the Middle Ages. The bibliography lists only such works as were used by the author, because an abundant general bibliography can be found in the works of Gilson and Luyckx.

The purpose of this work is the exact description and loyal interpretation of the teaching of St Bonaventura on exemplarism. A perusal of the book

will convince the reader that the author has made every honest effort to give due consideration to every passage in the writings of St Bonaventura that has bearing on his subject. Copious texts cited in the footnotes add clearness to his argument.

The author stresses the importance of the study of the exemplarism of St Bonaventura for the history of mediaeval philosophy in general and for the history of the philosophy of St Bonaventura in particular. He notes the absence of as much as a sketch of this magnificent doctrine in the manuals of theology and dictionaries pertaining to the theological knowledge of the period under consideration.

St Bonaventura defines an exemplar as that which serves as a prototype in the realization of a thing or action, and exemplarism as the doctrine which teaches how God is the prototype of all that exists, and the manner in which things exist in God. The author defines exemplarism as 'the doctrine of the relations of expression which exist between God and the creature.' This definition, suggested by St Bonaventura himself, covers the active and passive side of exemplarism, and includes the element of *expression* which is peculiar to St Bonaventura. To reduce the significance of exemplarism solely to the theory of illumination is, in the opinion of the author, to misunderstand its scope.

This study confines itself to the development of only one part of a more general plan which the author has in view. His subject is the representative and active exemplar of all being in God. The three principal points of discussion are: (a) God is the exemplar, because He possesses in Himself the ideas of things; (b) These ideas are the forms according to which He knows beings, and the exemplars according to which He produces them; (c) God possesses this exemplary causality in relation to all beings, for all beings, before they are produced, exist in Him, and have in Him, as well before as after their realization, a being more true than that which they possess in themselves. These three aspects of exemplarism are nicely summarized in the trilogy of St Bonaventura: God is for the creature the *causa essendi, ratio intelligendi, et ordo vivendi*.

The study is divided into two parts. The first has two sections. Section A treats of exemplary ideas, their definition, and their perfection in God. God knows things by these ideas, and not by their essence, nor because He is their cause. The manner in which they exist in God is described, and the chief characteristics of the theory of exemplarism are given. In criticism of the theory the author says that the concept of truth is not the most fundamental, and that St Bonaventura does not seem to distinguish sufficiently the concept of the pure idea and that of the exemplary idea.

Section B deals with the divine Word as the exemplar, the Word as the

likeness of the Father, the Son of God as the image of the Father, and the Son of God as the Word of the Father.

Part Two takes up the active influence of God upon creatures. The author points out that neither the theory of exemplarism nor that of illumination is, properly speaking, a theory of knowledge. After some general considerations on truth in God and in creatures, the author gives the views of St Bonaventura on the divine light, knowledge in the eternal reasons, and our source of certitude. God is not the active intellect, according to St Bonaventura. A chapter is devoted to the historical significance of the intellectual exemplarism of St Bonaventura and its historical scope in the Middle Ages. A comparison is made between the teaching of St Bonaventura and that of St Thomas. The final chapter discusses God's influence upon man's will and his moral life.

It is the author's view that St Bonaventura and St Augustine somewhat underestimate the capacity of human nature. This relative pessimism is a consequence of the very lofty idea which they have of God. Both exalt the dignity of the human soul in so far as it is the image of God.

The doctrine of St Bonaventura on the divine exemplarism leads to the very source of being and of truth; to Him 'a quo omne bonum originaliter progreditur, per quem omne bonum exemplariter producitur, et ad quem omne bonum finaliter reducitur'.

An alphabetical index of proper names and a complete analytical table of contents conclude this excellent study.

SEBASTIAN ERBACHER, O. F. M.,
Catholic University of America

OLIVER E. BODINGTON, *The Romance Churches of France*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925. Cloth. Pp. 262 + 113 half-tone illustrations on plate pages. \$5.00.

ONE may quarrel at once with this author for attempting to supplant the established name of Romanesque regularly applied to the style he treats. The subtitle suggests a more ambitious work than it is possible for a dilettante to write in this day and age. The author rushes in where trained archaeologists fear to tread, speaking in a rather sophomoric way of the Legend of the year 1000 and the derivation of certain Romanesque elements 'straight from Persia.' His diagrams are an easy target, and it hardly seems that a writer who has but 233 pages for the whole of French Romanesque church architecture ought to waste one on an unflattering joke about an American in St Mark's, Venice. The book concludes with 'Photographic Notes', for the author is a photographer willing to share his secrets.

He is quite right in saying that 'it may perhaps be claimed without vanity that the photographs accompanying this book are somewhat above the average of amateur productions of the kind.' They are indeed. And the re-

viewer is bound to say that the book itself is an interesting book from the popular point of view, and far more likely to engage the sympathy of the layman for its subject than would a sedately impeccable treatment of more scholarly cast.

K. J. CONANT

Harvard University

Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Vol. XI, Richard II, 1391-1399; *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, Henry IV, Vol. II, 1402-1405; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Edward VI, Vol. VI, Index. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1929. Pp. iv, 433; vii, 529; 771. £1 10s.; £1 10s.; £2 10s.

THE Fine Rolls now calendared cover the uneventful period 1391-1396 as well as the stirring years that brought to a close the reign of Richard II. As usual, they contain records of the appointment of all kinds of officers. Writs to the escheators occupy the customary large amount of space. But, due to the specialized character of the rolls, there are relatively few notices of contemporary political events. The expedition to Ireland, which occupied Richard's energy during the final months of his reign, is mentioned directly in but one place (p. 293). On the other hand, the troubles with Arundel, Gloucester, Norfolk, and Hereford are referred to in a number of writs sent to escheators and keepers of lands. John of Gaunt's death is mentioned because of the necessity of caring for his lands. Of the exactions complained of in the chronicles of 1399, only one clear-cut example has been found (pp. 250-252).

The contents of the letters close calendared in the second volume are far more illustrative of contemporary events of general interest. Within the period, 1402-1405, there was the uprising in Wales under Owen Glendower, the rebellion of the Percies, and an uprising in Yorkshire. There are numerous references to each of these. There are writs relating to the gathering of troops, to the munitioning of castles, to the assembling of ships, to the disposal of the heads and quarters of executed rebels, and finally to measures of pacification. There is also a fair amount of material on the social and economic aspects of life. The copy of the charter to the chantry chapel of St Mary Woolnoth, in Lombard Street, is full of detail concerning endowment, services to be held, ornaments of the altar, and vestments handed over to the chaplain (pp. 135-138). The wine fleet that was to sail to Bordeaux is noticed (p. 199). The cargoes of other ships are occasionally noted. In ships from Portugal came figs and raisins, wine, oil, and wax (pp. 99, 243). From Castile came iron, steel, rosin, salt, apples, 'orengis', and 'clowes' (pp. 257, 356). From Italy came almonds and 'rys' (p. 257). From Zeeland came madder and onions (p. 242). There is mention of 124 boxes of white soap landed in London from a galley of Venice (p. 345). The present volume has no index.

The third volume under review is a very welcome Index to the Patent Rolls of the reign of Edward VI. The compilation needs no comment save that it contains few subject headings.

The new Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Alfred E. Stamp, is to be congratulated upon the celerity with which the volumes of the mediaeval Calendars are appearing.

JAMES F. WILLARD,
University of Colorado

H. G. ENELow, ed., *Menorat ha-Maor* by R. Israel ibn al-Nakawa. Part I. New York: Bloch, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 37+90.

AL-NAKAWA (or, according to the more common spelling, Alnaqua) was a member of a prominent Jewish family of Toledo and was executed there in an *auto-da-fé* during the summer of 1391. His son Ephraim escaped to Algeria, where he founded a Jewish community and practiced medicine so successfully that he was regarded as a miracle worker and became a legendary figure.

Al-Nakawa's *magnum opus*, *The Lamp of Illumination* (*Menorat ha-Maor*) does not seem to have attained a considerable circulation, for although it was printed in 1578 (and in an abridgement again in 1593), it survives only in a solitary Bodleian manuscript which Rabbi Enelow has now undertaken to edit. The reason for the oblivion into which this work has fallen was the extraordinary popularity enjoyed by a work with the same title and similar contents by Isaac Aboab. Taking issue with Zunz, Mr Enelow undertakes to prove that Aboab obtained most of his material from al-Nakawa, reshaping and rearranging it freely. Both works represent a reaction against scholastic talmudism in favor of an ethical interpretation of Judaism that became highly popular among the masses.

Of the twenty chapters into which the work is divided, the first one (dealing with charity or, more exactly, almsgiving) is published in this volume, together with the acrostic poem in praise of the Law of Moses and the Introduction (describing the circumstances that induced al-Nakawa to write his book). Mr Enelow gives a detailed summary of the contents of the Hebrew text, and points out in the footnotes the numerous Biblical and Talmudic references.

R. H. PFEIFFER,
Harvard University

An Exullet Roll Illuminated in the XIth century at the Abbey of Monte Cassino. Reproduced from Add. ms. 30337. London: British Museum, 1929.

THE reproduction of this manuscript in 1929 by the trustees of the British Museum was a courteous recognition of the fact that the venerable Abbey of Monte Cassino, founded by St Benedict in 529, was celebrating its 1400th anniversary. At the beginning of the celebration, copies of the reproduction were formally presented to the Pope and to the Abbey. The manuscript is

eminently appropriate for the choice. Beautiful in script, illumination, and color, it is allied by style to the greatest period of the Cassinese scriptorium when the Abbey was ruled by that great patron of the arts, the cultured Abbot Desiderius. Its restoration in facsimile to the Abbey was therefore a gracious and suitable tribute.

The affiliations of the manuscript to the products of the Desiderian scriptorium are striking, and they invite comparisons with the beautiful volume of homilies still at Monte Cassino signed by the Scribe Leo, whom Dr Lowe in one of his happy phrases characterized as 'the Prince of Beneventan Scribes' (E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 329; and also in his magnificent recently published *Scriptura Beneventana*, vol. 2, pl. LXX).

The entire roll, 22 feet 6 inches in length and 11 inches wide, is reproduced in the size of the original by the Oxford University press. The soft tones of the paper give some illusion of the parchment, and the reproductions of the miniatures, being collotypes of the high grade which we have learned to expect from the Oxford press, conserve to a considerable degree the effects of light and shade which give so much charm to the original. It is true that this manuscript suffers unusually from the loss of its color which time and the rubbings of use have transformed into exquisite pastel tones, accented and enlivened by glints of gold. But as the color in the miniatures is at least in part later than the drawing, this is less serious for the student than for those to whom the manuscript makes mainly an aesthetic appeal.

The subjects of the 14 miniatures which illustrate the text are: 1. Christ enthroned between angels (illustrating the words *Lumen Christi*, thrice sung by the Deacon as he advances to the ambo to sing the Exultet). 2. *Angelica turba caelorum*. 3. *Mater Ecclesia* (a majestic figure standing in the arched nave of a church and supporting it with outstretched arms). 4. *Tellus* (a woman's figure emerging from a mound of earth and suckling the ox and the serpent). 5. The Exultet ceremony; lighting the candle. The Deacon in the ambo calls his brothers to join him in praise. 6. The Crucifixion. 7. The Red Sea (derived from the familiar Byzantine scene as found in the Paris psalter (*B. N. gr. 139*) and elsewhere. The illuminator seems to have been unfamiliar with the scene, however, as he has shown an animal from Pharaoh's horde escaping with the Israelites). 8. Descent into Limbus (Harrowing of Hell) with St John the Baptist. 9. Adam and Eve (between two trees, the Serpent coiled in the tree at left). 10. *Noli me tangere*. 11. Incensing the candle (another representation of the ceremony similar to scene 5; the Deacon stands on the steps of the ambo). 12. The Bees (illustrating the Eulogy of the bees, a poetic interlude which formed part of the earliest version of the hymn). 13. Virgin and Child (illustrating the passage in which, in accordance with mediaeval ideas, the chastity of the bee is compared with that of the Blessed Virgin Mary). 14. A third repre-

sentation of the ceremony. The Deacon, in the ambo, holds the Roll in his left hand while with the right he makes the Byzantine sign of address. Of these fourteen Scenes, all but the first are inverted.

An adequate treatment of these scenes would involve a discussion of the iconography of the Exultet Rolls, a subject too complicated to be more than alluded to in this review. The earliest surviving illuminations (tenth century) were designed to illustrate the early version of the Exultet, described as *Vetus Itala* by the Rev. H. M. Bannister, who believed it to be a part of the lost early liturgy of Italy. The British Museum roll, however, contains the later Roman version (*Vulgata*), and its illumination is in part derived from the earlier rolls and in part consists of new scenes designed for the *Vulgata* text. Some lack of understanding of the significance of the earlier scenes is shown, there is some misplacing, and a preference for Byzantine compositions in the new scenes suggests that one of the Byzantine masters whom Desiderius is known to have called from Constantinople to Monte Cassino to train his monks, laid out the plan for the illumination of this roll. It is noticeable also that this roll omits the usual miniatures representing the dignitaries of church and state for whom prayers are offered at the close; and as these sentences merely repeat the usual Exultet phraseology, with no allusion to the Congregation of St Benedict, it is probable that the roll was one of many such products of the Desiderian scriptorium intended to be used as a gift. If so, its destiny was fulfilled, as the erasures and insertions in this part of the text indicate. Furthermore, Dom Beyssac, the well known authority on mediaeval music, pointed out when examining the photographs of this roll that the neumes written for the individual names (to be inserted when sung by the Deacon) are everywhere uniform and do not suggest that any particular pope, bishop, or count was in the mind of the copyist.

The British Museum publication contains a brief but adequate introduction by the late Mr J. P. Gilson who carefully supervised the preparation of the plates but, to the great regret of his friends, did not live to see the actual presentation of his work to the famous old Abbey. He has summarized the facts with singular clarity and judgment, giving deserved credit to Émile Bertaux's pioneering chapter in his *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*. One can only agree with Mr Gilson when, after stating the difficulties involved in an attempt to identify the secular princes referred to in the closing sentences, he concludes by saying that it 'appears safest to date the roll purely on grounds of style.' In his allusion to the Vatican fragment (*Barb. lat. 592*) which resembles this roll so closely, he follows the usual opinion that the Vatican manuscript copies at least in part the British Museum miniatures. This, however, seems unlikely in view of the better understanding of some

of the scenes in the Vatican manuscript and it is more probable that both were copied from a slightly earlier prototype.

A descriptive text following the Introduction contains brief color notes and explanations of the scenes. The interpretation of the fifth miniature (pl. 6), however, as a narrative scene introducing the Deacon twice (lighting the candle and again at the ambo) is inconsistent with earlier miniatures upon which this scene is based; and it is to be noted that the cleric who lights the candle is not vested with the dalmatic. This section contains also the entire text in modern letters, which will be welcomed by students of liturgy who do not easily read the Beneventan script. The text is of the Vulgata complete, and varies in minor details from that published by Duchesne (*Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 259) following more closely the *Vetus Italica* in the Preface, where alone the two versions are practically the same.

The British Museum has therefore won the gratitude not only of the Benedictine Order throughout the world but of all students of mediaeval script, illumination, and liturgy for its excellent publication of this treasure of the Middle Ages.

MYRTILLA AVERY,
Wellesley College

CESARE FOLIGNO: *Latin Thought During the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii+120. \$1.75.

THIS is a well-written and well-printed sketch of the continuity of Latin culture from the political downfall of Rome to the Renaissance. Its six chapters are entitled as follows: I. *Rome and the Middle Ages*; II. *The Salvage*; III. *The Christian Contribution*; IV. *Summaries*; V. *The Scottish Age*; VI. *Charlemagne*; VII. *The Schoolmen and After*. The work is furnished with a bibliographical note and an index. Lastly, it contains six beautifully executed and appropriate photographs, each accompanied by an adequate description.

In the opening chapter, Professor Foligno gives a brief survey of the period under discussion, and states his thesis: 'in every cultured man of that epoch, deep down or on the surface, clearly marked or dissembled, there is to be traced the Roman impress, and it will be our object to show how and why this came about.' In the following chapter, he describes the efforts made to preserve the Latin heritage after Rome had fallen. He finds that the most active forces which contributed to this survival were provincial activity, Christianity, scholarly instinct, and particularly the Roman tradition. The chapter entitled *The Christian Contribution* is a consideration of the fate of Latin culture in Italy, where the forces of tradi-

tion were strongest. Christian Rome was stepping into the place of Imperial Rome; and in the Church, the leadership had passed from the Greeks to the Latins—to the Romans, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. The next chapter, *Summaries*, is a characterization of the attempts made by Boëthius, Cassiodorus, and others to preserve the Roman culture, and to adapt it to the needs of their age. This simplified form of culture was needed by the three principal elements of Western society: the Roman traditionalist, the Christian Church, and the barbarians. Chapter V, *The Scottish Age*, is devoted to the activities of the *Scotti*, or Irishmen, and the Anglo-Saxons in absorbing and spreading the Latin culture both at home and abroad. Not the least of their achievements was the so-called Carolingian Renaissance, which is discussed in the following chapter. Here is given a relatively full discussion of the revival of learning which is connected with the name of Charlemagne. Professor Foligno stresses the fact that essentially the most lasting achievement of this movement was the transcription and transmission of manuscripts, since practically all that we know of the writers of Rome is derived solely or mainly from Carolingian copies. The final chapter contains a summary of the conditions which brought about the revival by the Schoolmen, and a discussion of the efforts of scholars to harmonize ancient philosophy with Christian principles.

Professor Foligno has given us a very readable and stimulating book, which, on the whole, is convincing. However, there are a few points which call for comment.

On page 8, the following statement is unacceptable to me in part: 'that the whole of Europe followed a faith which had been reluctantly accepted by Imperial Rome, whose official language was Latin, and whose organization and tendency to universality had been inspired by Rome.' (Italics are mine). Again, to my mind, De Labriolle in his *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* has given us a juster estimate of St Jerome's attitude toward the pagan learning than is to be found in the present volume (pp. 35 ff.). The final chapter is also inadequate: in comparison with the treatment of the early Middle Ages, it is too meager. While the works mentioned in the *Bibliographical Note* are very well chosen, yet, in view of the titles presented, the following might well be included: P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1924); E. Norden, *Die lateinische Literatur im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter*, in Hinneberg, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, 8, 3rd ed. (1912), pp. 483-522; A. Baumgartner, *Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker* (Freiburg, 1905); and F. Lot, *La Fin du Monde Antique et le Début du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1927).

I have noted only one misprint. On page 114, G. Gröber, *Grundriss d. latein. Philol.*, read *Grundriss d. roman. Philol.*

These minor criticisms, or rather suggestions, are not meant to detract from the intrinsic worth of an extremely interesting and delightful book.

BROTHER GILES, C. F. X.,
The Catholic University of America

ETTORE LO GATTO, *Storia della Letteratura Russa*, Vol. I: *Dalle Origini a Tutto il Secolo XVI*. Rome: Anonima Roma Editoriale, 1928. Paper. Pp. xi+294.

SINCE unfavorable economic and political conditions bid fair to restrict in appreciable degree the scope of abstract scholarship and *belles lettres* in Russia for some time to come, it is gratifying to note that not only in the younger Slavic states, but also in France, under the impulsion of Professors Meillet and Mazon, in the Netherlands, under Professor Van Wijk of Leyden, and now in Italy, thanks to the pioneer efforts of Professor Lo Gatto, we may expect a continuance of the great work which the founders of Slavic Philology carried forward during the half-century preceding the World War. The unique character of the first volume of Professor Lo Gatto's treatise, which presents the first even relatively complete survey of Russian literature to the close of the Sixteenth Century ever published in a Western European language, should attract any mediaevalist whose interest extends to this highly interesting field of research. Professor Lo Gatto here devotes a whole volume to a period which Professor Brückner's *Literary History of Russia* covers sketchily in thirty-five pages, and to which Arthur Luther's more recent *Geschichte der russischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1924) gives but seventy.

Any general treatment of a linguistically inaccessible literature must of necessity be in large degree *une oeuvre de vulgarisation*. Professor Lo Gatto would doubtless be the last to deny his obvious indebtedness to such precursors in the elucidation of the literature of Kiev as Pypin, Vladimirov, Istrin, and Speranski, to the studies of Shakhmatov on the Chronicles, or to the investigations of Buslayev, Vsevolod Miller, A. Veselovski and others in the domain of popular poetry and folklore. He is, in fact, to be commended for his familiarity with the well-nigh appalling volume of scattered Russian material dealing with the mediaeval period alone, and his work thus possesses a considerable bibliographical value for the less initiated non-Slavic scholar.

Beginning with a preliminary section on the ethnography of the Eastern Slavs, the introduction of Christianity under Vladimir I, the characteristic linguistic features of Old Russian, and the partition between the oral tradition of popular literature and the formal written literature developed under Byzantine influence, Professor Lo Gatto then devotes his first book to a survey of oral literature, examining in turn the *bylina*, religious poetry, and the so-called '*obrjadnyja pjesni*.' He then turns in the second book to the

formal literature of Kiev, with its translations and compilations from the Greek, its Apocrypha, its hagiographical and moralizing works, the Chronicles, and finally, to that unique and widely-debated brief epic, *The Tale of Igor's Warrior Band*. While Professor Lo Gatto's summary is subject to some reserve on account of his uncritical relation to his Russian predecessors (particularly in regard to Shakhmatov's theories of annalistic compilation), it may be urged that in so controversial a field he was hardly in a position to reverse prevailing hypotheses of wide implication. The third and last section of this volume covers the written literature of the Tatar and Muscovite periods to the death of Ivan the Terrible.

Professor Lo Gatto refers with some frequency to the parallels between Mediaeval Russian literature and the literatures of Western Europe, so that his first volume may thus serve as an important auxiliary for students of comparative literature and folklore desirous of expanding their field of vision.

SAMUEL H. CROSS,
Harvard University

PHILIP K. HITTI, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion with Extracts from their Sacred Writings*. Philip K. Hitti, Ph. D. of New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Paper. Pp. viii+80. \$2.00.

A BOOK upon the Druzes by one who was born in the Lebanon Mountains and who has associated with them intimately, will excite the curiosity and raise the expectations of the student of the history of religion. Professor Hitti's little book gives a convenient summary of the principal articles of Druze belief and some interesting notes on their social and historical development (Chapter II) and folklore (Chapter VII), which might profitably have been expanded. As an historical study of the Druze religion and its sources it is, however, entirely inadequate and adds little or nothing to our knowledge of this sect and its doctrines.

The documents which Professor Hitti cites and upon which he bases his discussion of the dogmas, morals and speculative theology of the Druzes, have all, with the exception of two or perhaps three, been referred to and extensively quoted by de Sacy in his two volume *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes* (Paris, 1838). De Sacy, moreover, cites and quotes some forty other documents. Of Professor Hitti's extracts, Appendix A will be found in de Sacy's *Exposé*, vol. II, pp. 704-705, Appendix C, save the last few lines, in vol. I, pp. 205 ff. and vol. II, pp. 606-612, Appendix D in vol. II, pp. 531-539, and Appendix E in vol. II, pp. 540-547, and de Sacy also gives a résumé of the whole of the latter three documents. Appendix B is only referred to by de Sacy (vol. I, p. 191), and he does not seem to have known the document quoted in Appendix F.

Professor Hitti dismisses Druze theology and its sources in twenty pages; de Sacy discusses this subject for one hundred and ninety-one pages of Volume I and throughout the greater part of a brilliant introduction of two hundred and forty-six pages. De Sacy devotes three hundred and eighty-four pages to the hierarchy of Druze ministers; Professor Hitti gives two and one-half pages to this complicated question. The seven precepts of Hamzah occupy a page and a half of Professor Hitti's discussion and forty of de Sacy's.

De Sacy's monumental work, says Professor Hitti (pp. 25-26), 'gives us an excellent internal interpretation of the Druze religion but does not go far in disentangling the different fibers in the intricate and complex web of the system and in tracing them back to the remote origins in the various religions or philosophical and metaphysical schools of thought.' It is evidently to this task that Professor Hitti has addressed himself,—to bring to light the remote origins of Druze practice and belief.

Remote origins, however, are so easy to propose and at the same time so difficult to substantiate. The real historical problem is to show the immediate sources, and de Sacy has demonstrated that, as Professor Hitti himself says, the Druze religion 'is an outgrowth of the Ismā'īliyyah sect' (p. 25). He brings evidence to prove that it borrowed its system and the most of its ideas, as well as a number of its technical terms, from this sect (see de Sacy, *Introd.*, CXXII; vol. I, pp. 58, 83 ff., 99-100, 114-115, 156, 189, 190, 205, 220; vol. II, pp. 5, 19, 30, 60-61, 680, 702). De Sacy himself also offers some remote origins and cites Brahmans, Jews and Christians (vol. I, 224, cf. II, 77), Zoroastrians, Gnostics and Cabbalists (vol. II, 51) as remote precursors of the Druzes in some doctrine or other.

Professor Hitti apparently thinks that 'the learned system of the Druzes has not changed since it was first inaugurated in the early part of the eleventh century' (p. 3). De Sacy shows, however, that the founders of the religion maintained the doctrine of the justice of God and its corollary, free-will in man (see de Sacy, vol. II, pp. 75, 466, 470, 474-475), whereas Professor Hitti says on page 47 that 'the Druzes follow in the footsteps of the Jabriyyah school of Islamic thought' and are therefore predestinationists. De Sacy throws some light on this contradiction in a footnote to vol. II, p. 557 where he points out that the Druze catechism contains statements which cannot be reconciled with the free-will doctrine of the founders of the religion. The author of the catechism abandoned apparently the original doctrine and adopted the ordinary Muslim (Sunni) position.

Chapter IV bears the title, 'The Persian Origin of the Druzes,' by which Professor Hitti apparently means racial origin, and this he seeks to prove by pointing out that the original Druzes must have had a propensity for the peculiar doctrines which they adopted and which were Persian in origin,

that the founders of the sect were Persians or of Turco-Persian origin, that many of the technical terms of the religion are Persian, and that 'the leading families among the Druzes have been throughout either of full Kurdish and Persian origin, or of Persianized and 'Irāqized Arab origin' (p. 21). He goes on, curiously enough, to show that four families were of Arab origin, two of Kurdish and only one of Persian. At the end of the chapter he writes, 'Racially, therefore, the Druze people were a mixture of Persians 'Irāqis?, and Persianized Arabs.' The reader may wonder what Persian influence, or doctrine, or vocabulary, or a propensity to such things has to do with racial origins, and probably he will agree with Professor Hitti when he says (p. 17) that 'more worthy of consideration is the statement of Hogarth and Gertrude Bell in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* that the Druzes are a mixture of stocks in which the Arab largely predominates "grafted on to an original mountain population of Aramaic blood" ', an opinion advanced by these two scholars with all diffidence.

WILLIAM THOMSON,
Harvard University

PHILIP K. HITTI, trans., *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munquidh (Kitāb al-I'tibār)*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. X+265. \$4.50.

USĀMAH dictated his memoirs at the ripe old age of ninety years or more. Warrior, courtier, sportsman and poet, the friend and confident of princes and their viziers, a favourite of the renowned Saladin himself, he has left us a vivid picture of life as it was in the courts and camps of Syria and Egypt in the twelfth century. He lays bare for us the fatal court-intrigues of the last days of the Fatimite Caliphate in Egypt. He shows us the constant bickerings of the Muslim princes of Syria. And he draws for us vigorous pen-pictures of the freakish appearance and the unaccountable manners and morals of Frankish knights. For although Usāmah was a hero of Islam, he was liberal enough to have counted Christian knights among his friends. Usāmah is garrulous and has no sense of historic sequence. He tells his stories as they occur to him, more by association of subject than anything else. But his book is indispensable to the student of the Crusades or of mediaeval Egypt and Syria for its colour and detail that aid the imagination greatly to seize the character of his time.

Usāmah's memoirs have come down to us in an unique and incomplete manuscript of the Escorial, where the French scholar, Hartwig Derenbourg, discovered it in September 1880. Derenbourg published the Arabic text in 1886, a life of Usāmah based on the text in 1889, and a translation in 1895; and in 1886 and 1887 he contributed four papers on Usāmah and his works to various learned journals. A German translation of the memoirs by

Georg Schumann was published in 1905, and in 1929 there appeared two English translations, one from the French of Derenbourg by G. R. Potter (Broadway Medieval Library) and the present work by Professor Hitti of Princeton.

The German translation, as Professor Hitti points out (p. 20), is for the most part merely a slavish copy of Derenbourg's French translation. The English translation of G. R. Potter is professedly derived from the French except that the author makes a merit of having occasionally preferred the German translation to Derenbourg's French, which may account for some of the mistakes which he has made. Professor Hitti has gone back to the original source, the Escorial manuscript, and points out in his introduction and notes a number of instances, some 36 in all, where Derenbourg has read the Arabic incorrectly. His translation, moreover, shows that he is sometimes following a different reading from Derenbourg and a better one, since his translation is more logical as, for example, on page 27 (text, 3. 6 ff.), and page 41. 21 (text, 12. 11 ff.) and perhaps page 42. 12 ff. (text, 12. 20 ff.) and it would have been better, therefore, to have given the reading which he proposes in these instances also, unless perhaps he intends to publish the whole text later.

Unfortunately Professor Hitti has sometimes followed Derenbourg's French translation where it is wrong, or where, at least, the English equivalent of the French expression is certainly incorrect. Derenbourg, for example, has (p. 7. 14), 'dont il [al-Zāfir apparently] obtint le concours *et qu'il soudoya*,' Hitti says (p. 33. 9), 'together with others *whom he won over to the scheme by distributing money among them*,' and the Arabic reads (text, 6.13), 'and others *whom he [al-'Ādil] had offended*.' We find in Derenbourg (p. 24. 2 from bottom), 'et je retournerai vers le vizir *pour l'en informer*,' and in Hitti (p. 51. 15), 'And I returned to 'Abbās and *gave him all the information*.' The Arabic has (text, 19. 2), 'And I returned to him alone without a man.' Derenbourg writes (p. 38.8), '*et les délogerait*,' Hitti translates (p. 65.28), '*and dislodge them*,' while the Arabic says (text, 28. 8), 'and cut them off (or destroy them).' In Derenbourg we have (p. 38.2 from bottom), 'au moment où Laith ad-Daula *l'enveloppait à gauche*,' in Hitti (p. 66. 20), 'When Layth-al-Dawlah *enveloped him from the left*,' and the Arabic simply states (text, 28.21) that Layth *attacked the man from the left*.

Professor Hitti has also, however, departed from Derenbourg's translation quite often where Derenbourg is correct, and occasionally where Derenbourg is wrong without himself achieving the correct translation. For example, Hitti writes (p. 26.15), 'If Allah . . . vouchsafes its safety, *it will be to thy future welfare*.' The second clause should read (text, 2.bottom), 'that will have taken place *under your auspices*.' And Derenbourg renders it (p. 2.15), '*ce sera grâce à ta bienheureuse intervention*.' We find in Hitti

(p. 38, bottom), 'I then returned to the camp, and behold, the mule came back galloping and made its way into the horses' picket line,' where Derenbourg says (p. 13.5), 'Je retourne au campement. *En attendant, le mulet était rentré au galop dans l'écurie,*' which is correct. The mule had returned to camp before Usāmah. Hitti has (p. 47.13), 'Then 'Abbās came out, dragging the Amīr Yūsuf by tucking under his armpit Yūsuf's uncovered head.' Derenbourg gives the correct translation (p. 21.3; text, 16.6), 'Ensuite 'Abbās sortit, portant sous son aisselle la tête de l'émir Yoūsouf.' Derenbourg writes (p. 71, 20), 'au jeudi 20 du rabī' second, en 502.' Hitti mistakes the relation of a word and translates (p. 99.2 from bottom; text, 52.13), 'on the twenty-fifth of Rabī' II, in the year 502,' and then gives as the corresponding Christian date the same day as Derenbourg does, November 27, 1108.

Again, Hitti has (p. 66, 31), '... I have dispersed their assembly with the stab of a consummate master.' Derenbourg, with more poetic feeling at least, writes (p. 39, 12), '... par un coup d'une épée tranchante.' But the Arabic phrase really means (text, 29.5), '... with a stroke that has disabled my opponent [or, rendered him hors de combat].' Both Derenbourg and Hitti have also misunderstood the last verse of the piece of poetry translated respectively on pages 39.6 from bottom and 67.7 (text, 29.12). It runs, 'And when they challenge to dismount for battle, I am the first to dismount. Why should I ride it [his horse], if not to alight for combat.' Hitti has, 'And as they challenged me to fight on horseback, I was the first to enter the arena. For why should I ride a horse unless I am going to fight on its back?' The verse is attributed here to 'Antarah, but does not appear in Ahlwardt's *Divans*, where the other four verses are to be found in the order, 9, 13, 20, 14. In Freytag's *Hamasa Carmina* (text, 29; tr., 56) it is ascribed to Rabī'ah-ibn-Maqrūn al-Dabbri and its meaning made clear.

Professor Hitti's renderings are unhappy sometimes rather than false. 'They disbanded' for 'They separated or scattered' (p. 37.22). 'Reckoning our tardiness' for 'Deeming us to be delayed' (37, 5 from bottom). 'After thy Islam and thy being one of the readers of the Koran' for 'After having become a Muslim and read the Koran' (p. 64. 10 from bottom). 'So he charged on horseback, void of arms' for '... without any armour' (p. 95, 24). Occasionally he leaves out a word or even a whole sentence, as on page 30.8 (text, 4.15), page 28.4 (text 3.12) and page 34.21 (text, 7.12), or he gives the wrong name or makes an error in the transliterating of a name as, for example, 'al-Hāfiz' for 'al-Zāfir' (p. 31, 29; text, 5.14), and 'al-Mustarshid' for al-Mustarshidi' (p. 28.19; text, 4.1), and 'Rabī' I' for 'Rabī' II' (p. 54.11; text, 21. 7).

He has also accused Derenbourg unjustly at least once in his introduction (p. 19). For Derenbourg does not 'cause the wrong man,' nor any man, 'to fly off his saddle' on page 63 (text, 46.2 from bottom), but probably assigns

a horse to the wrong man and makes the horse run straight on instead of wheel around. Derenbourg makes the wrong man strike a horse in the croup on page 67 (text, 49. 12), which Professor Hitti does not seem to have noticed, and Professor Hitti himself has made the wrong man walk into the tower on page 104 (text, 56. 2).

A comparison of Professor Hitti's translation with that of Derenbourg was inevitable. Sometimes, of course, it differs from Derenbourg's and is correct. Professor Hitti's rendering of the two verses of poetry, for example, on page 77 (text, 36.14) is quite neat, whereas Derenbourg has gone astray (p. 49.), and where Derenbourg writes (p. 8.4), 'Il s'éleva au-dessus du sol,' Professor Hitti gives (p. 33, 5; text, 6, bottom), 'He looked down from that considerable elevation to the courtyard,' which is correct if somewhat clumsy. But an examination of the two translations simply confirms our esteem for Derenbourg and his work. For granting even the mistaken readings pointed out by Professor Hitti, Derenbourg's translation must still be considered the more trustworthy, as it is certainly the racier. Not only is it 'a very creditable and honest piece of work,' as Professor Hitti says in his introduction, but it also bears witness to a fine feeling for Arabic idiom and an admirable ability to render that idiom into vigorous French.

WILLIAM THOMSON,
Harvard University

H. C. HOSKIER, ed., *De Contemptu Mundi*, by Bernard of Morval. London: Quaritch, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xxxiv+104.

It is remarkable that the original text of a poem so familiar, at least in part, to every student of hymnology should have been so rarely edited. Since Thomas Wright's publication of the *De Contemptu Mundi* (in *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*, Vol. II, Rolls Series, London, 1872), no critical text of this unique and impassioned satire has been offered. Before Wright, the most recent available text was the 1754 Frankfurt reprint of Flacius' Basel edition of 1557. Mr Hoskier has thus performed a real service to mediaevalists in preparing a modern critical text, based on a collation of all known manuscripts, along with the three chief printed editions (Flacius, Chytraeus [Bremen, 1597], and Wright). The three principal manuscripts used, among others, by Mr Hoskier belong to the Thirteenth Century, and thus fall within a period of not much more than fifty years from the composition of the poem. They are: *Paris Nat. Lat. 8433*, *Douai 825*, and a hitherto uncollated manuscript (*No. 115*) in the Town Library at St Omer. The editor gives not only a stemma of all extant manuscripts, but also an extensive list of notable variants in the individual texts. As Wright's text is apparently based only on the British Museum manuscript *Cotton. Cleopatra A viii* and a Bodleian manuscript (*Digby*

65.33), it is clear that Mr Hoskier's text must for the moment be regarded as authoritative.¹

Mr Hoskier renews the apparently hopeless controversy as to Bernard's place of birth. Basing his contention of the occurrence of *Morvalensis* in the Douai manuscript (Thirteenth Century) and Brit. Mus. Add. 22287 (Fourteenth Century), he decides both against Morlaix or Morlas and also against Professor J. W. Thompson's argument in favor of Murles (*Jour. of Theological Studies*, April 1907, pp. 392-400), and would consequently suppose Bernard of some putative *Morval* 'perhaps in the Jura, not so far from Cluny' (p. xiv). Mr Hoskier states quite positively that his thirteenth-century manuscripts are clear for *Morvalensis*. From his own *apparatus criticus* and Jackson's notes, however, I am unable to discover more than one thirteenth-century manuscript carrying this form (Douai), while *Cleopatra A viii* (also thirteenth-century) has *Morlanensis*, as is also the case with *Digby 65.33*, though this belongs to the Fourteenth. On the face of it, the evidence would thus not appear so impressive as Mr Hoskier would have us believe, and Bernard's native place still remains hidden in obscurity.

In view of Mr Hoskier's profound appreciation for the literary merits of the *De Contemptu Mundi*, it is regrettable that the portion of his introduction which deals with previous efforts at translation is not on a par with his textual criticism. Bearing in mind the almost insuperable difficulties presented by an English rendering in anything like the original meter (Mr Hoskier's own attempts in this direction serve but to emphasize the perils involved), one can hardly accept his strictures against Dr Neale's celebrated paraphrase of considerable sections of the poem, which have become the prized possession of millions totally unfamiliar with its more venomous passages. I note also that Mr Hoskier does not refer to Swinburne's really beautiful paraphrase of a portion of Book I,² which, without exactly reproducing Bernard's metrical *Kunststück*, approximates its haunting rhythm. Some study of Bernard's precursors in the use of *tripertiti dactylici caudati* would also have been appropriate.³

Regardless of these subjective deficiencies, however, Mr Hoskier's edition should invite to the fresh examination of this gem of mediaeval

¹ Of Wright's basic texts, *A* refers to *Cleopatra A viii*, and *P* presumably to Chytraeus's print of 1597. Wright's *B*, though not identifiable with entire certainty, seems to have been *Digby 65.33* or a text close to it. In S. M. Jackson's study, *The Sources of Jerusalem the Golden* (Chicago, 1910), pp. 11-21, most of the extant manuscripts are described in some detail. Jackson's bibliographical notes on fragmentary translations from the *De Contemptu Mundi* are also of importance.

² Cf. F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927), p. 317 n.

³ Cf. W. Meyer, *Ges. Abh. zur Mittellat. Rythmik* (Berlin 1905), I, 90.

composition, in which an almost supernatural command of phrase and vocabulary combines lofty visions with an ascetic's compensative and therefore doubly fierce resentment of an age which he considered materialistic and corrupt.

SAMUEL H. CROSS,
Harvard University

P. LEHMANN, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. 2. Band. *Bistum Mainz, Erfurt*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1928. Paper. Pp. vi+812. RM. 75.

MUCH may be known of a man if we know what books he reads and much may be learned of an age by discovering which books were most widely read. For the Middle Ages this may be learned from the catalogues of the mediaeval libraries.

The project of publishing the mediaeval library catalogues of Germany and Austria was first broached before the Vienna Academy in 1897. The original intention was to include the catalogues from northern France and northern Italy as well, but this latter part of the project was given up. In 1906, the German academies were asked to cooperate, and it was decided to divide the labor, with the commission appointed by the Vienna Academy concentrating on the Austrian catalogues and the German catalogues to be published by a commission with headquarters at Munich.

The first volume of the Austrian series (intended to be complete in three volumes) was published at Vienna under the editorship of the late Theodor Gottlieb. The German catalogues are to be arranged according to the mediaeval ecclesiastical provinces. The first volume of the German series, including the catalogues from the dioceses of Constanz and Chur, appeared in 1918, under the editorship of Paul Lehmann. The present volume, whose publication has been delayed by the war and resultant financial difficulties, includes the mediaeval catalogues from Erfurt.

According to the plan of the series, the history of each library is sketched, and accompanied by lists of manuscripts in modern collections known to have existed in the mediaeval library. Then follow the mediaeval catalogues from each center, retaining the manuscript characteristics so far as possible in print.

The present volume contains fifteen catalogues, of which eleven are printed here for the first time. The catalogues with one exception date from the fifteenth century and furnish an illuminating picture of the intellectual interests of the old University and the monasteries, and of the background of learning of the 'Erfurt humanists' and of Luther.

The principal libraries catalogued are those of the old University (the *Collegium Amplonianum* and the *Collegium Universitatis*) and the Carthusian Salvatorberg. Of particular interest is the autograph catalogue of the

library of Amplonius Ratinck, from 1410, revealing an extensive collection of all the liberal arts, of law, science, theology, and the ancient classics. Also noteworthy is the lengthy and detailed but well-classified catalogue of the Salvatorberg, from the opening of the sixteenth century.

Due to the magnitude of the project and the careful scholarship with which it is being carried on, the completion of the series is necessarily far in the future. It is to be hoped, however, that publication of the forthcoming volumes may be expedited, since the value of the collection increases progressively as further catalogues are available for comparison and judgments as to the popularity of the authors and the diffusion of their works in the libraries become possible. The catalogues printed and to be printed in this series will form an unequalled source of information on mediaeval intellectual levels and interests. It is likewise desirable that publication be undertaken, on an equally high plane of scholarship, of the catalogues of the mediaeval libraries of other regions of western Europe.

JAMES S. BEDDIE,

North Dakota State Teachers College,
Minot, North Dakota

AGUSTÍN MILLARES CARLO, *Paleografía Española: Ensayo de una Historia de la Escritura en España desde el siglo VIII al XVII*. Barcelona and Buenos Aires: Editorial Labor. 1929. Vol. I, 359 pp., 39 figures in the text and 16 plates; Vol. II, 87 facsimiles, 131 pp. (Colección Labor, Vols. 192-194.) 13 pesetas.

At last we have a thoroughly satisfactory introduction to Spanish paleography. Spanish scholarship has often suffered in the past from too provincial an outlook; this manual is abreast of research everywhere, and its bibliographical references are unsurpassed. Whether one deals with Visigothic manuscripts, Aragonese fueros, or New World chancery records, one finds altogether adequate treatment. Professor Millares' comments on Lowe's criterion for dating Visigothic manuscripts are especially interesting. Vol. II contains nearly 90 facsimiles covering the whole field, though hampered by the small size of the series; others are scattered through the text. Misprints are few. As one who knows from experience the difficulties of the subject, I congratulate Professor Millares on a remarkable achievement, indispensable to all serious students of Spanish literature and history.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK,
Smithsonian Institution

HENRY S. LUCAS. *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347*. University of Michigan Publications—History and Political Series, VIII). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii+696. \$4.00.

THE zigzag-puzzle map of the Low Countries at the end of this volume and the author's lucid summary in the concluding chapter form a welcome

appendix to the story that Dr Lucas has to tell. Without these, the American reader might feel easily bewildered by his account of alliances, feuds, cross-purposes, and betrayals which bound and severed the various duchies, counties, seigneuries, and bishoprics then constituting the Netherlands. The rulers of these regions were politically more important than the modest size of their territories would lead one to expect. Their geographical position at the mouths of three great trade routes, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, and the wealth which, in consequence, had accrued to them, made them desirable allies for neighboring monarchs. Chief among them was William, Count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault, who was brother-in-law to King Philip VI of France and father-in-law to Edward III, King of England and to Louis the Bavarian, King of the Romans. It was through William's influence, no doubt, that Reginald, Duke of Gueldres, married Eleanor, King Edward's sister. William further attempted to strengthen his prestige in the south by negotiating the betrothal of his daughter Isabella to the heir apparent of the Duke of Brabant, whose duchy lay across his own territories, separating Hainault in the south from Holland and Zeeland in the north. King Philip VI, afraid of a close alliance between Duke John and Count William, induced the former to repudiate this matrimonial agreement and to marry his son to Philip's daughter Marie. But by this policy the French King estranged his brother-in-law and drove him into the English camp, and Duke John, an astute politician, saw his advantage in remaining neutral in the conflict between the two rival monarchs. Thus King Philip could rely only upon John, Count of Luxemburg and King of Bohemia, the Bishop of Liège, and the Count of Flanders. But the Flemish Count's loyalty availed him but little, for the cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, which were dependent for their cloth industry on the unimpeded import of English wool, aligned themselves with King Edward under the leadership of Jacob van Artevelde, a prominent burgher of Ghent. Hence English interests, backed up by English wool and English money and by promises of more of both to come, were paramount in the Low Countries about the year 1340. The naval victory over the French fleet at Sluis is the highwater mark of Edward's prestige in the Netherlands. Owing to his failure to clinch that success by a speedy capture of Tournai, which he had promised to return to the Flemings, his popularity began to wane. His alliances, based upon selfish interests, proved unstable props, which were apt to give way as soon as time and circumstance revealed these interests to lie elsewhere. At the close of the period covered by this volume, of all his allies only the margrave of Juliers and the Flemings remained faithful to King Edward. Dr Lucas, in accounting for all the changes and checks that French and English policies encountered in the Low Countries, had to unravel a tangled skein of intrigues fit to exasperate a scholar of less pain-

staking and persistent temperament. His chief contribution to our knowledge of the period is the new light he has thrown upon the cunning rôle played by Duke John of Brabant, who in this political welter showed greater statesmanship than did the burgher statesman Artevelde. The bulk of Dr Lucas's source material is available in print, but he has also made use of unpublished documents in the archives at Paris, Lille, Brussels, Mons, Ghent, Bruges, Middelburg, and The Hague. An exhaustive bibliography of documents, chronicles, books and articles bears testimony to the industry and the research that have gone to the making of this excellent volume.

A. J. BARNOUW,
Columbia University

NELLIE NEILSON, ed. *The Cartulary and Terrier of the Priory of Bilsington, Kent*. London: Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. x+255. Cloth, \$7.00.

THIS is a scholarly book written for scholars. Almost one third of the total is introduction. The rest is the Latin text of a cartulary and a survey. The cartulary indicates the source of the title to the land held by the priory in question. The survey shows how the small holdings were rented out to tenants. The estates were in Kent on the edge of Romsey Marsh and of the Weald of Andred. The period of the compilation of the records is the fifteenth century, while the documents themselves belong chiefly to the two preceding centuries.

The introduction explains such terms as *denn*, *warland*, and *modus*, and calls attention to the exceptional conditions of land tenure in Kent, for example, that there was no week-work. It is curious to note that about 55 out of 62 pages of the introduction are so presented that they might have been published without the texts that follow. Indeed, there is an unusual divorce between the two parts of the book. The introduction is a kind of preface to the text, not a commentary on it. We miss just such analysis of the content and meaning of the documents as the editor might easily have given. Since there is no indication of the letters that have been added by way of elongation of words, we feel somewhat uncertain of the original reading of the manuscript.

N. S. B. GRAS,
Harvard University

A. KINGSLEY PORTER, *Beyond Architecture*. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1928. Pp. 84. \$1.50.

THE rôle of Professor Porter in revolutionizing our mediaeval archaeology is now recognized and understood. His two-volume work, *Mediaeval Architecture*, with its polyglot bibliography and its groups of concise detailed

monographs chapter by chapter, was published when he was but twenty-five years old. It now needs revision, but it is a good book, and it was the apprenticeship for profounder studies on Lombard architecture, as well as on the sculpture of the pilgrimage roads, of Spain, and of Ireland. Sparks from his anvil have been taken by his students and fanned into lively flames, with the result that his teaching has had an influence far beyond the radius of his own charming personality. Now he turns to writing for its own sake. In view of his extraordinarily fecund work in archaeology, this little book is uncommonly interesting, for it gives, in literary form, his personal feeling about archaeology and the fine arts. In brief, he considers that the advance of what he calls societism chokes the freedom of the artist, coarsens his grain, and makes him a servant of a spirit-stifling big-ism. 'The sung-to creates the singer, and what coarsens one must coarsen the other. That perhaps explains why the progress of societism seems quite generally accompanied by a decline of the poetic gift. Italy, and specifically Rome, which has been called the cradle of the arts, has thrice proved to be their coffin, and at the exact moments—Augustus, Leo X, Mussolini—when intense societal organization was attained.' This idea runs through this charming series of essays. A theorist and a lover of the art of the time of Augustus, Leo X, and Mussolini might ask if there may not be in those days a different kind of song—one to which Professor Porter's ears are not attuned

K. J. CONANT,
Harvard University

Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale. Tome I. Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1929. Pp. 542+116.

THE four numbers comprising the first year of the *Recherches* have been collected in one volume. It is hardly necessary to call the attention of mediaevalists to the *Recherches* which, in this first year of its publication, has proved itself an indispensable tool for all interested in the mediaeval philosophy and theology. Under the able leadership of Dom Lottin, the *Recherches* has gained for itself a secure place.

The *Recherches* covers the field of theology from the time of Tertullian to the Council of Trent. It excludes everything, even before that date, which has direct reference to the Reformation. Theology naturally is interpreted by the editors to include philosophy, ethics, asceticism, liturgy, canon law, and practically everything that falls within the scope of the history of Western theology taken in a wide sense. The *Recherches* contains, besides articles of high scientific merit, unedited texts, book reviews, a brief chronicle of current literature, and a bulletin of ancient and mediaeval theology. Noteworthy articles in the first volume are the following:

'L'origine antiadoptionniste de notre texte du Symbole de la Messe,' by Capelle.

'La tradition littéraire et textuelle de l'Adoro te devote,' by André Wilmart.

'Anfänge einer Lehre vom Concursus simultaneus im XIII Jahrhundert,' by Landgraf.

'Le premier représentant de l'Augustinisme médiéval, Prosper d'Aquitaine,' by Cappuyns.

'Autour de l'œuvre théologique d'Anselme de Laon,' by Bliemetzrieder.

The *Recherches* is well printed on good paper and with easily readable type. We hope for it a wide circulation among American scholars. It deserves such support.

JAMES H. RYAN,
The Catholic University of America

KARL STRECKER ed., *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters Von Chatillon*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1929. Paper. Pp. xx+179. RM. 6.

MAX MANITIUS, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, 4te Auflage. (Münchener Texte Herausgegeben von Friedrich Wilhelm, Heft 6). Munich: Callwey, 1929. Paper. Pp. 60.

HERE are two important additions to the ever increasing number of critically edited mediaeval Latin texts. The excellences of Manitius' first edition of the poems of the Archipoeta (1913) need not be chronicled again. They appear without much change in this second printing.

Strecker's edition of the *Moral Poems* of Walter of Chatillon completes that of the *Songs* published in 1925. It is a finished production, like everything from this scholar's hand. The title of the work indicates that the text is based on manuscripts from all the European countries, not merely, as sometimes has been unfortunately true of Latin texts edited by German scholars, on manuscripts accessible in Germany. Strecker has performed his task well-nigh single-handed. An introduction presents full information with regard to the manuscripts and to the delicate question of the authenticity of the poems. As anybody who has looked into the manuscripts of twelfth-century Latin poetry is aware, direct ascriptions—for instance, in the case of Hildebert of Lavardin—are rare. Strecker has made probable the authorship of the poems edited here by a study of their groupings in the various codices in which they are found.

The edition of the poems is scrupulously thorough. Each is preceded by an introduction containing a characterization and a summary of the contents, with a minute account of the metre and its deviations from the norm. Below the text are two series of notes, the first containing a description of the manuscript sources of the text and the other the *apparatus criticus*. The first gives out after a while, leaving the apparatus, which is extensive, alone. Then there follows, after the text of the poem, a third set of notes, which

is occupied mainly with references to passages in ancient or mediaeval authors, both Pagan and Christian, of which there are apparent reminiscences in the text. Their arrangement is a bit inconvenient. One generally expects the information about the manuscripts used to form part of the introduction; and one looks for *Incipits* not half way or more through the poem at the end of the first set of notes, but as the first feature of the *apparatus criticus*. The arrangement in Manitius' *Archipoeta* is better for the reader. His notes, all at the bottom of the page are in three sections: 1) *apparatus criticus*, 2) explanatory comments, 3) parallel passages. However, his page is larger and his various notes less numerous. Strecker had a harder problem to solve, but I still think that the statement about the manuscripts should have gone into the introduction and the *Incipits* should have headed the *apparatus criticus*. The reader would also have appreciated the usual list of *Sigla Codicum*.

These are small points at which to cavil in return for the wealth of information compactly presented in the little book. Its contents should correct the idea—if any entertain it any longer—that anything outside hymns written in the measures employed by the Goliards is of a light and frivolous character. The poems of Walter of Chatillon here edited are moral indeed, eminently edifying and monotonous, particularly when the writer ventures beyond his depth into the waters of theology. There are some flashes of humor and satire, and in the poems written shortly before he died a leper's death, the tone is serious and true.

Of great historical interest is Poem No. 3, of which only fragments had been printed before. It was read by the poet at Bologna soon after 1170 by invitation of the Law School of that place; and thus, as Strecker points out, with a reference to Thorndike (*Speculum*, I (1926), 101–103), it antedates by nearly half a century the reading of his *Rhetorica Antiqua* by Boncampagno of Signa in 1215, also at Bologna. The address takes the form of an ancient *satura*, since it is alternately prose and poetry. The subject is the writer's idea of what a university education should comprise. There are three parts, or *ordines*. The first comprises the liberal arts of the trivium and quadrivium; the quadrivium includes *physica*, which here means not medicine, as sometimes in the Middle Ages, but natural science. The second order is law, including political science. Walter, the moralist, is careful to point out that neither liberal studies nor the law is sufficient in itself to bring a man peace at the end. The third order is theology, the queen of the sciences. There is possibly a touch of satire even here, at the expense of the allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, such as appears elsewhere (I, 16–25).

Of the remaining works of Walter of Chatillon, his best known poem, the *Alexandreis* and the somewhat doubtfully attributed *Georgica* still await

critical editions. The most recent edition of the *Alexandreis* is the very imperfect one of W. Müldener in 1863. Strecker emphasizes vigorously the need of a new and satisfactory text of this important work, and adds, to our exceeding regret, that he himself cannot undertake it.

E. K. RAND,
Harvard University

EUGENE VINAVER, *Malory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. iv+208. \$5.00.

IN a compact and well considered study, Mr Vinaver presents the problem facing scholars who wish to investigate the French sources of Malory's *Morte Darthur*, and offers as a method of approach one which he demonstrated in 1927, when he published in Paris, *Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut dans l'œuvre de Thomas Malory*, a study of Malory's treatment of the Tristan material (Books VIII–XII of the *Morte Darthur*) in relation to its French source. As the author states in his introduction to the present study, he is endeavoring to suggest a method rather than to demonstrate it in this volume. The present volume is an admirable—one would almost say indispensable—survey of the historical and literary influence impinging upon Malory when he composed the *Morte Darthur*. After two preliminary chapters summarizing what scholarship has learned about the life of Malory and of Caxton's editing and printing of the *Morte Darthur*, and after reviewing the course of the Arthurian narrative in literature before the time of Malory, Mr Vinaver devotes the main part of his study to a cross-section of the chief literary, cultural, and historical interests which influenced Malory in the adaptation of his French sources for the English work he had in hand.

Mr Vinaver studies in some detail Malory's narrative technique and literary and chivalric ideals as distinguished from those of his French predecessors, and demonstrates clearly the dualism of ideals which entered into those Arthurian romances centering around the secular chivalric world of Camelot, or the sacred chivalric world of Corbenic, the home of the Grail. The effect upon Malory of the sunset of chivalry and the oncoming of a new social order is admirably related in a chapter entitled *The New Arthuriad*, and the study ends with a critique of Malory's ability as a translator and stylist.

These are the main themes of the book, and they are treated in a highly interesting and significant manner. As he peruses the present volume, any reader who has followed for twenty years or more the trend of scholarship in the field of Middle English literature will be deeply impressed with the nature of that development. One of the first steps was to establish the texts of Arthurian romances and to print them. Immediately thereafter came the study of the romances as comparative literature, which in turn led to a study of their source material, some of which could be traced back to

literatures other than French or English, and some of which came from folklore. Most recently has arisen a study of the history of the Middle Ages as it is set forth in manor rolls, court records, etc., with the result that we have added greatly to our present knowledge, not merely of Malory, but also of a host of other authors and of men to whom they refer, whose names hitherto have been no more than names. And finally, it is not too much to hope that scholars of mediaeval literature will augment their store of knowledge by a careful consideration of mediaeval monuments in all fields of fine arts, which have much to tell those who wish to trace the process of literature in the life of its time. Something has already been effected in this field, but a serious and thorough consideration of the relation between mediaeval literature and mediaeval fine arts has yet to be undertaken.

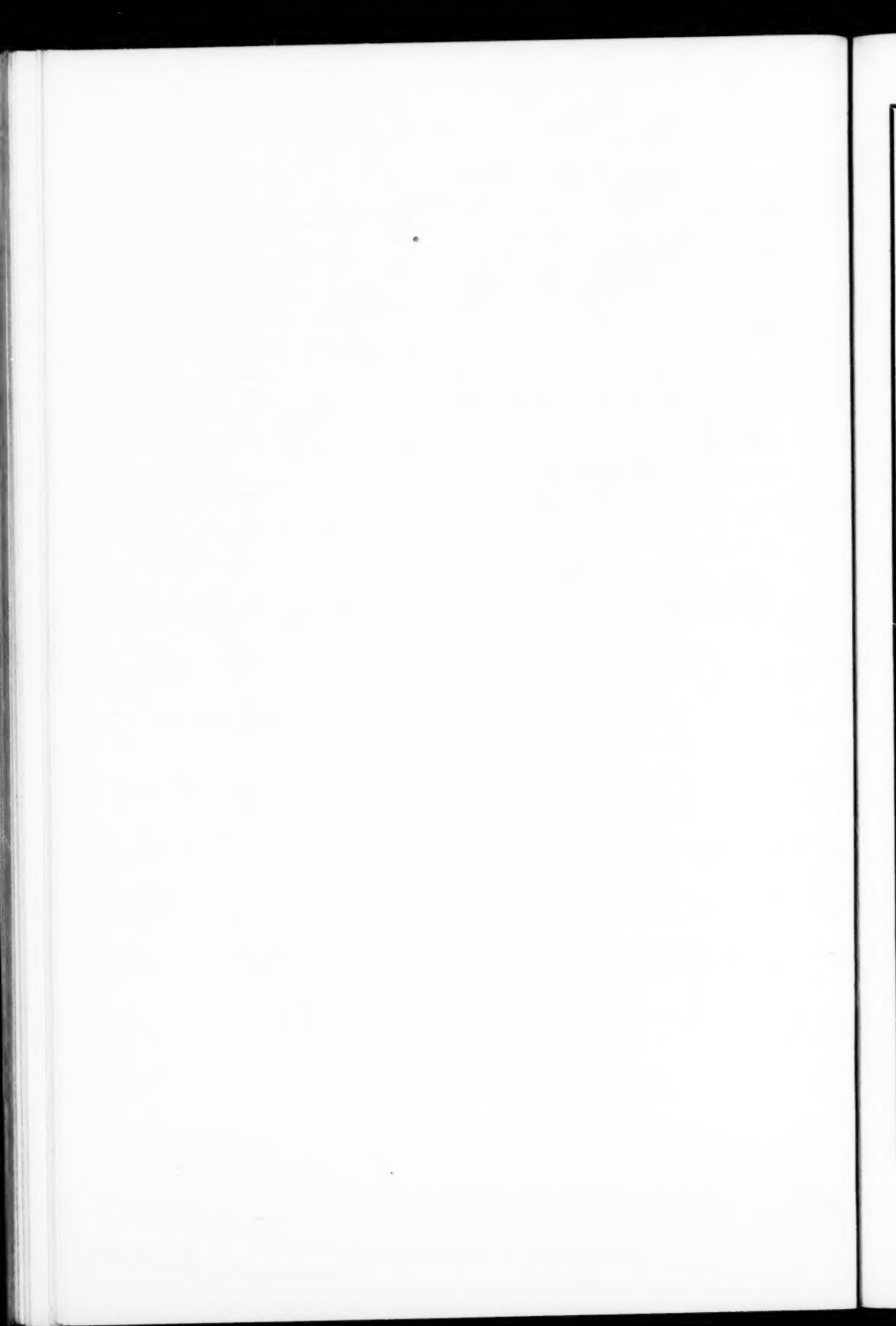
JAMES BUELL MUNN,
New York University

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading *Speculum* will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

- A. Ahlstrom, *Le Moyen Age dans l'Œuvre d'Anatole France*. Strasbourg diss., Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1930. Paper. Pp. 219.
- Sister Mary A. Burns, *Saint John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statues: A Study of their Rhetorical Qualities and Form*. Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXII), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. viii+121. \$3.50.
- W., *Hermann von Salza*. Abhandlungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur, Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, 4. Heft, Breslau: M. & H. Marcus, 1930. Paper. Pp. viii+289. Paper. RM 13. Cloth. RM. 15.
- T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitzze, *Lancelot and Guenevere*. (Modern Philology Monographs), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Boards. Pp. viii+104. \$9.00.
- F. Desonay, ed., *Le Paradis de la Reine Sibylle d'Antoine de La Sale*. Paris: E. Droz, 1930. Paper. Pp. cxxvii+65. Frs. 40.
- J. T. Ellis, *Anti-Papal Legislation in Medieval England (1066-1377)*. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xiv+137.
- W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy, I. The Kalendar*. (Alcuin Club Collections, XXVIII), New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Paper. Pp. 158. £1/1.
- H. Glunz, *Britannien und Bibeltext, Der Vulgatatext der Evangelien in seinem Verhältnis zur irisch-angelsächsischen Kultur des Frühmittelalters*. Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, XII, Leipzig: Verlag Von Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1930. Paper. Pp. 187. RM. 16.
- L. Halphen, *Les Barbares des Grandes Invasions aux Conquêtes Turques du XI^e Siècle*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930. Paper. Pp. 432. Frs 50.
- D. Hartley, ed., *The Old Book, A Mediaeval Anthology*. With an Introduction by George Saintsbury, London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxx+318.
- A. Hilka and O. Schumann, ed., *Carmina Burana, I. Band: Text, II. Band: Kommentar*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930. Paper. Pp. xvi+112, 120. Vol. I, RM. 6, Vol. II, RM. 20.
- G. W. P. Hoey, *The Use of the Optative Mood in the Works of St. Gregory of Nyssa*. Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXVI), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xv+126. \$3.50.
- G. Hübener, *England und die Gesittungsgrundlage der europäischen Frühgeschichte*. Frankfurt a.M.: Moritz Diesterweg, 1930. Boards. Pp. viii+325. RM 14.
- M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*. Part I. Nos. 1-97, Cambridge: University Press, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+160. 12s. 6d.
- J. Kürzinger, *Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus und Seine Theologische Einleitungslehre, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Scholastik im 14. Jahrhundert*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Band XXII, Heft 5-6), Münster: i. W.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930. Paper. Pp. xvi+230. RM. 10.85.
- Sister Mary D. Madden, *The Pagan Divinities and their Worship as Depicted in the Works of Saint Augustine Exclusive of the City of God*. Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXIV), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. x+134. \$3.00.

- Sister Marie A. Martin, *The Use of Indirect Discourse in the Works of St. Ambrose*. Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XX), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xviii+185. \$3.50.
- R. E. Messenger, *Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Mediaeval England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 210. \$3.50.
- J. F. Mountford and J. T. Schultz, *Index Rerum et Nominum in Scholiis Servii et Aelii Donati Tractatorum*. (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XXIII), New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930. Boards. Pp. xii+205. \$3.00.
- Sister Mary G. Murphy, *St. Basil and Monasticism*. Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXV), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xix+112. \$3.50.
- F. Neri, *Fabrilia*, Recherche di storia letteraria. Torino: Chiantore, 1930. Paper. Pp. 134.
- Sister Mary B. O'Brien, *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography to 543 A.D.* Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXI), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xvi+174. \$3.50.
- Yvonne Rokseth, ed., *Treize Motets et un Prélude pour Orgue parus chez Pierre Attaingnant en 1531, réédités avec une Introduction et les Originaux des Motets*. Paris: E. Droz, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxv+61. Frs. 90.
- W. Cesarini Sforza, "Ius" E "Directum," Note Sull' Origine Storica dell' Idea di Diritto. Bologna: Stabilimenti Poligrafici Riuniti, 1930. Paper. Pp. 90.
- M. Sherwood, trans. *The Tale of the Warrior Lord*, translated from *El Cantar de Mio Cid*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Cloth. Pp. xx+156. \$2.50.
- J. Sofer, *Latínisches und Romanisches aus den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+189. RM. 14.
- R. Steele and F. M. Delorme, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, Fasc. X. Questiones, Supra Libros Prime Philosophie Aristotelis (Metaphysica I, II, V-X)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Paper. Pp. xxxii+360.
- F. M. Stenton, ed., *Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections*. (Northants. Record Society, Vol. IV), Lincoln: J. W. Ruddock & Sons, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxv+179.
- D. M. Stenton, ed., *The Earliest Northamptonshire Assize Rolls, A.D. 1202 and 1203*. (Northants. Record Society, Vol. V). Lincoln: J. W. Ruddock & Sons, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxxviii+214.
- Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz*, presented by a group of his pupils and friends on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, February 4, 1930. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+331.
- Sister Thérèse Sullivan, *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi De Doctrina Christiana Liber Quartus*, A Commentary, with a Revised Text, Introduction and Translation. Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXIII), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xiv+205. \$3.50.
- C. H. Turner, ed., *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, Tom. I, Fasc. II, Pars III. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Boards. Pp. xvi+441-624.
- C. P. Wagner, ed., *El Libro Del Cauallero Zifar*. (University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, Vol. V), Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xviii+532.
- W. Wulff, *Rosa Anglica*. (Irish Texts Society, Vol. XXV), London: Simpkin, Marshall, Ltd. 1929. Cloth. Pp. lviii+435. 25s.



THE MEDIEVAL LIBRARY

*A collection of the choicest literary productions of the
Middle Ages in Europe.*

THE MEDIEVAL LIBRARY is published under the general editorship of Sir Israel Gollancz, and its list includes romances, religious works, poetry, and manners. Among its titles are many masterpieces recently rescued from obscurity. Each text is carefully translated or modernized, and is accompanied by photogravure reproductions of pages from the original MSS. and other illustrations. Price \$2.00, unless otherwise stated.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Book of the Duke of True Lovers | 14. Early Lives of Charlemagne |
| 2. The Tumbler of Our Lady and Other Miracles | 15. The Chronicle of Jocelin of Breton |
| 3. The Chatelaine of Vergi | 16. The Vision of Piers the Plowman |
| 4. The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young | 17. The Plays of Roswitha |
| 5. The Divine Consolation of the Blessed Angela da Foligno | 18. The Nun's Rule or The Ancrens Riwle |
| 6. The Legend of the Holy Fina, Virgin of S. Gemignano | 19. The English Correspondence of St. Boniface |
| 7. Early English Romances of True Love | 20. Medieval Lore |
| 8. Early English Romances of Friendship | 21. The Song of Roland |
| 9. The Cell of Self Knowledge | 22. Asser's Life of King Arthur |
| 10. Ancient English Christmas Carols \$2.75 | 23. Translations from the Icelandic |
| 11. Eight Troubadour Poets | 24. The Love of Books: The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury |
| 12. Cligés | 25. The Rule of Saint Benedict |
| 13. Pearl \$2.75 | 26. Wine, Women and Song. Medieval Latin Students' Songs |
| | 27. Beowulf |
| | 28. Raoul De Cambrai |

For further information, address

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

114 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

MONUMENTA GERMANIAE HISTORICA

Edited by G. H. PERTZ a.o.

Folio:

Scriptores 30 volumes in 31

Leges 5 volumes—Diplomata 1 volume—37 volumes (all published)

Hanover 1826-1896. Partly in photochemical reprint.

Strongly bound in half morocco RM. 9 000.—.

Each volume sold separately.

R.M. 240.— per volume in paper covers.

Scriptores XXX tome 2 fasc. 1, 1926,

R.M. 60.—fasc. 2, 1929, R.M. 66.—in paper covers.

KARL W. HIERSEMANN

LEIPZIG

- - - - -

KOENIGSTRASSE 29

E. P. GOLDSCHMIDT & CO., LTD.

45, OLD BOND STREET : : : LONDON, W. 1.

Catalogue 23

Mediaeval Literature and Science
including a small Collection of
Manuscripts of the Classics

Desiderata Lists carefully attended to.

**ETHICAL TEACHINGS IN THE
LATIN HYMNS OF MEDIEVAL
ENGLAND**

by
RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER

THE Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages have never been adequately studied as a reflection of contemporary ideas. A rich field of investigation, largely unexplored, lies open to the student of thought and culture. The writer has attempted to indicate the ethical teachings of a representative group of hymns and to interpret them in the light of a characteristic medieval concept. Hymns in their expression of ideals of life and conduct prove to be harmonious with other forms of literature, both religious and secular, and also with the art and drama of the period. \$3.50

**THE SOURCES FOR THE EARLY
HISTORY OF IRELAND**
Volume I. Ecclesiastical
An Introduction and Guide

by
JAMES F. KENNEY

THE history of historical writing in Ireland from early times to the present, and the ecclesiastical sources from earliest time to about 1170. Also an analysis and discussion of the sources both in manuscript and in published form, with critical guidance to the literature of the subject. \$12.50

**HISTORY OF THE FRANKS
BY GREGORY, BISHOP OF
TOURS**

Selections, translated with notes by
ERNEST BREHAUT

THE first English translation of *Historia Regum Francorum*. Beginning with creation, the history ends with the dawn of the sixth century. For detailed events of the fall of the Roman Empire this book is the sole authority. Extracts from Gregory's Eight Books of Miracles are included in this volume. \$3.50

**THE BOOK OF THE POPES
(LIBER PONTIFICALIS)**

To the Pontificate of Gregory I
Translated with an Introduction by
LOUISE ROPES LOOMIS

THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages and until comparatively modern times the *Liber Pontificalis* was accepted as the oldest and most authentic existing history of the Papacy. Modern scholarship has analyzed the *Liber Pontificalis* and separated it into two parts. The later portion, from the seventh century, is the annals of the papal court. The earlier portion, covering the era from St. Peter to the seventh century, is a mesh of verifiable facts and romantic legend. \$3.00

IBN KHALDUN

by
NATHANIEL SCHMIDT

THIS book fulfills the longstanding demand made by scholars for a translation of the famous Arabian's works in an accessible occidental language. It is a critical study of the manuscripts and their various publications completed with nice literary finish and the greatest scientific accuracy; and contributes to certain questions that are "intensely agitating" the minds of any scholars today who consider him as an historian, sociologist, and philosopher. It is enhanced in value by a list of translations, thorough notes, and an index. \$2.00

**THE ORIGIN OF THE DRUZE
PEOPLE AND RELIGION**

With Extracts from their Sacred
Writings

by
PHILIP K. HITTI

IN this study, a more serious attempt is made to solve the riddle of whom the Druzes are, why they are, and where they are. Professor Hitti is probably better fitted to make this attempt than any other scholar. Born in the Lebanon Mountains, Arabic is his native tongue. As a boy and young man he associated with the Druzes. He has had, and still has, access to their literature. It is likely that he knows more about them than they do themselves. For this reason I commend this book very highly to the attention of all who are concerned about Syria, and who are interested in the history of religion. *Richard Gottheil.* \$2.00

**SCIENCE AND THOUGHT
IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY**

by
LYNN THORNDIKE

THIS work, fully documented and presenting extracts from the original texts, gives a new picture of the 15th century. It is a fresh and scholarly exposition of interest to every student of the period of the Italian Renaissance or of the history of medicine, of speculative philosophy and of experimental science. \$4.75

**AN ARAB-SYRIAN GENTLEMAN
AND WARRIOR
IN THE PERIOD OF THE
CRUSADES**

Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh

Translated in full by
PHILIP K. HITTI

HERE is a new vista into medieval time—an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of Arab-Syrian culture, and its relation to Western thought—unexcelled in literature of the Crusades—a contemporary account of Syrian methods of warfare, hawking and medication and the customs of court and private life. \$4.50

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
2960 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N. Y.

**MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE
MANUSCRIPTS**

**RARE BOOKS
XV-XVII CENTURIES**

ESTATE OF WILFRID M. VOYNICH

**33 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK**

The Editors of *Speculum* wish to obtain complete sets or single copies of *Speculum*, Vol. I (1926). The sale of this volume has for some time been restricted to libraries. Yet even with this restriction the small stock now available, unless replenished, will soon be exhausted. If any reader knows of a set or of any single copies of this volume which might be obtainable, will he kindly communicate with the Executive Secretary,

**The Mediaeval Academy of America
Cambridge, Massachusetts**

Now Ready!

THE INDEX

for Vol. I. (1929)

of

SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS

IT CONTAINS about 12,000 names of living authors and 30,000 subjects entries in the social sciences, including Geography, Anthropology, History, Economics, Political Science, Sociology, and Statistics. It is the largest and most valuable single reference work on the world's periodical literature in the social sciences for July, 1928 to July, 1929.

IT IS divided into three sections: 1. Subject Index. 2. Authors' Index. 3. Cumulative Table of Contents.

Free to subscribers. Extra copies are \$2 a copy.

SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS

611 FAYERWEATHER HALL, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK CITY

ACADEMY PUBLICATIONS

For Publication October 15th

Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, No. 1,

GENOESE SHIPPING IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES, by E. H. BYRNE, University of Wisconsin.

Almost nothing has previously been known of the practical details of Mediterranean shipping during the Middle Ages, the ownership and management of vessels, the relations between the owners and merchants, the types of vessels used, and the arrangements for trading. Professor Byrne has discovered in the contemporary records of private transactions, which in Genoa particularly survive in great abundance, a source of information which makes possible the present careful study of how this shipping was carried on. Fifty-five of the documents studied are published for the first time. The book is an important contribution to the economic history of the Middle Ages.

Pp. x, 159; 6¾ by 10 inches; bound in heavy paper;
\$2.75, post-free.

Previously Published

Publication No. 1,

A CONCORDANCE OF BOETHIUS, by LANE COOPER, Cornell University.

Pp. xxi, 467; 6¾ by 10 inches; bound in heavy paper; \$5.00 post-free.

Publication No. 2,

A CONCORDANCE TO THE HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA OF BEDE, by P. F. JONES, University of Pittsburgh.

Pp. x, 585; 6¾ by 10 inches; bound in heavy paper; \$6.50, post-free.

Publication No. 3,

A SURVEY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF TOURS, by E. K. RAND, Harvard University.

In two volumes: Vol. I, pp. xxii, 245, 8 by 12¼ inches; Vol. II, pp. xv, plates (in collotype), CC, 12¼ by 16 inches. Both volumes bound in heavy green buckram, stamped in gold. \$50.00, post-free.

Publication No. 4,

LUPUS OF FERRIERES AS SCRIBE AND TEXT CRITIC, by C. H. BEESON, University of Chicago, with a Facsimile of Cicero's *De oratore* as copied and revised by Lupus, MS. Harley 2736.

Pp. x, 54, plates (in collotype), 218; 8½ by 9½ inches; bound in heavy green buckram, stamped in gold. \$12.00, post-free.

These publications are offered to members of the Academy at special prices.

**THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS**

